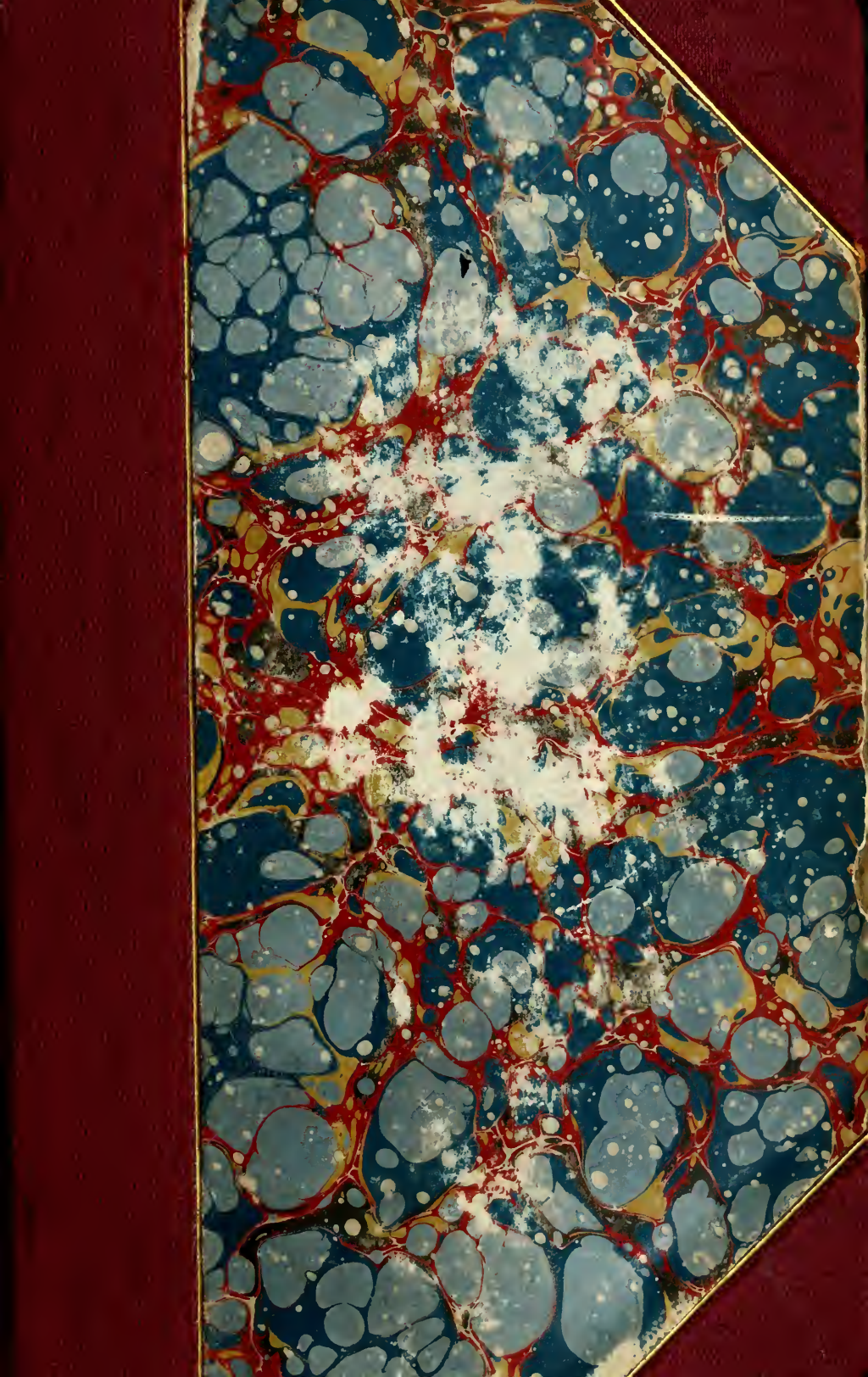

Anburey, Thomas

TRAVELS

THROUGH THE

INTERIOR PARTS

OF

AMERICA.

IN A

SERIES OF LETTERS.

BY AN OFFICER.

Τί ἔν, ἄν τις εἴποι, ταῦτα λέγεις ἡμῖν νυν;
Ἵνα γνῶτε, καὶ αἴσθησθε ἀμφότερα.

DEMOSTH. OLYNTH.

VOL. I.

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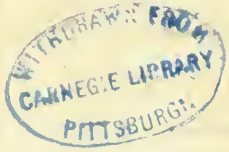

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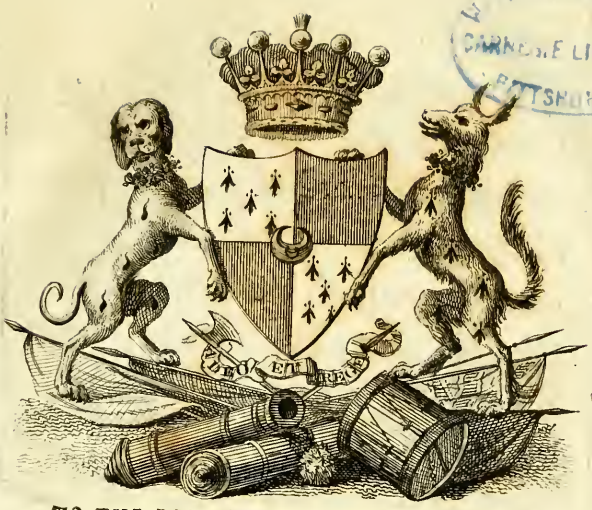

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TO THE RIGHT HONORABLE THE

EARL OF HARRINGTON,

VISCOUNT PETERSHAM,

AND

COLONEL OF THE TWENTY-NINTH REGIMENT OF FOOT.

MY LORD,

HAVING had the honor to ſerve under your Lordſhip, it was my fortune, in common with all who were in the ſame ſitua-

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ſituation, to become attached to your Lordſhip by perſonal obligations; and it is a conſequence which I hope will be thought equally natural, that I ſhould take this occaſion to acknowledge them.

In laying before the Public uncommon ſcenes of difficulty, danger and diſtreſs, I might be further tempted, had I talents for the undertaking, to particularize the unremitting fortitude, which, in ſeveral of the moſt trying inſtances, diſtinguiſhed your Lordſhip's conduct: but examples of bravery, though none can be more conſpicuous than thoſe your Lordſhip ſhewed, abound in every claſs of a Britiſh army: more rare

though

though not leſs worthy of imitation, is the ſort of attachment your Lordſhip has always ſhewn to your corps.

It has been your praiſe, my Lord, when out of the field, to forego the pleaſures which high rank, fortune, youth, and accompliſhments opened to your view, and to brave the ſeverity of climate, through tedious winters, in mere military fellowſhip.

In retired quarters, you found the care of your men to be at once the true preparation for your country's ſervice, and a moſt gratifying enjoyment to your own benevolence: while on their parts,

they

they conſidered their leader as their beſt friend and benefactor. Diſcipline was thus placed upon a baſis that mechanical valor can never eſtabliſh, upon a principle worthy of troops who can think and feel, *confidence* and *gratitude*.

Duly impreſſed with theſe and many other of your virtues---many more than you would permit me to enumerate; I have the honor to be

My Lord,

Your Lordſhip's moſt obedient,

And moſt devoted

Humble Servant,

THOMAS ANBUREY.

PREFACE.

THE following letters were written to gratify private friendſhip, and would never have been intruded upon the Public, but from the entreaties of ſome of the moſt reſpectable Subſcribers to the Work, who flattered the Author, that as they contained much authentic information, relative to America, little known on this ſide of the Atlantic, they could not fail of being intereſting to the Public.

Their

Their ſtyle and manner will clearly evince them to be the actual reſult of a familiar correſpondence, and by no means void of thoſe inaccuracies neceſſarily ariſing from the rapid effuſions of a confeſſedly inexperienced Writer, which will ſcarcely be wondered at, by thoſe who conſider how widely different are the qualifications neceſſary to form the Soldier and the Author.

Every thing the Reader may meet with will not appear ſtrictly *nouvelle*; but this is a circumſtance unavoidably attending the writer of a tour through a country, which has been already the ſubject of ſo much diſcuſſion; but there are certainly many new circumſtances related, which will ſerve to point out the true character and manners of the Americans.

The

The facts came within his own knowledge, or are ſupported by ſome honourable authority; and his motto has ever been,

——Nothing extenuate,
Nor ſet down aught in Malice.

They will ſtrike every man with the greater force, after the evident partiality of a late Author, who has been led to repreſent the Favorers of Independence as poſſeſſed of every amiable qualification, and thoſe who eſpouſed the rights of the Mother Country, as deſtitute of common feelings, and humanity itſelf.

The Author, ſenſible how much thoſe Subſcribers, whoſe generoſity has exceeded the limits of the ſubſcription, would be hurt by a particular diſtinction, cojointly renders them thoſe thanks,

" Which the tried heart that feels alone can give."

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John Seleer, Eſq.———London
Mr. Stalker,——London
Mr. Sollors,———Blandford
The Rev. Mr. Salmon
Mr. J. F. Souel,———Guernſey
John Secker, Eſq.———Windſor
Stell's Library,———Haſtings

T.

The Rt. Hon. ——The Marquiſs of Titchfield
The Rt. Hon. ——Lord Torphichen
The Hon. ——Mr. Twiſleton Thompſon
Sir Charles Thompſon, Bart. K.B. Bond-Street
Sir John Thorold, Bart. ——Cavendiſh-Square

THE THIRD REGIMENT OF HORSE, OR CARBINEERS.

Colonel Longfield
Major Wilford
——Willey
Capt. Smith
—— Tiſdale
—— Roſs
Lieut. Daniel
——French
——Templeton
——Fitzgerald
——Sir Thomas Chapman
Cornet Cramer
——Gilleſpie
——Longfield
——*Hon.* Geo. Pomroy
——Duncombe
Surgeon James Wallace

THE THIRD (OR PRINCE OF WALES'S) REGT. OF DRAG. GUARDS.

Major Gen. Phillipſon
Col. Manſell
Capt. Milbanke
—— Charlton
Lieut. Charlton
Cornet Dotten

TWENTIETH REGIMENT OF FOOT.

Colonel Lind
Major Hon. S. D. Strangeways
——Rollinſon

Capt. Winchester
—— Norman
Lieut. Bateman
———Brooke
Enfign Wynyard

TWENTY-FIRST REGT. OF FOOT (OR R N B) FUZILEERS.

Colonel Hamilton
Major Lovell
Capt. Petrie
—— Brodie
Lieut. Grant
———Dalgleifh
———Congalton
Qr. M. Geo. Lauder

TWENTY-FOURTH REGIMENT OF FOOT.

Lieut. Gen. Wm. Tayler
Lieut. Col. England
Major Pilmer
———Campbell
Capt. Blake
—— Stiel
—— W. Doyle
Lieut. Leybourne
———Short
———Hollings
Enfign Meyrick

General Trapaud, ——Berner's-Street
Col. Anftruther Thompfon,—(late of 62 Regt.) Edinburgh
Samuel Toulmin, Efq.———Walbrook
Mr. James Turner, Jun.———Milbank
Thomas Trewin, Efq.——Helftone
John Trevener, Efq.——ditto
Mr. William Terwin,——Haymarket
Mr. Templeman,——Size-Lane
Edward Thornycroft, Efq.——Chefter
Mr. William Truflon,——Brentwood
Mr. John Thomas
Rev. Mr. Hen. Hawkins Tremayne, A.M. Heligan, Cornwall
Mr. Leigh Thorndon,
Thomas Fortune, Efq.——London

Mr. Thurgood,——Fenchurch Street
David Thomas, Esq.—Pay Master in America

U

The Rt. Hon.———The Earl of Upper Ossory
Mr. Benjamin Uphill,—Mount-Street, Grosvenor-Square
Cornelius Vanderstop, Esq.——Princes-St. Hanover-Sq.

W

The Rt. Hon.———The Earl of Westmoreland
The Rt. Hon.———The Earl of Winchelsea
The Rt. Hon.———The Earl of Waldegrave
The Rt. Hon.———The Earl of Warwick
The Rt. Hon.———Viscount Weymouth
The Rt. Hon.———Lord Willoughby de Broke
The Rt. Hon.——Lord Walpole
Sir Watkin Williams Wynne, Bart.—St. James's-Square
Sir George Warren, K B. ——Grafton-Street
Miss Warburton
General Warde
Capt. Willoe,——(8 Regt. of Foot)
—— Wiseman,——(53 Regt. of Foot)
Edward Wilford, Esq.——Chelsea
——— Williamson, Esq.——Temple
Richard Whatley, Esq.———Parliament-Street
Rev. Mr. Whatley,————ditto
Rev. Mr. Wills,———Helstone
Mr. John Whitehead,——Basinghall-Street
Mr. Thomas Wagstaff,——Highgate
Mr. John Winpenny,——Bristol
Robert Woodriff, Esq.——Temple
Mr. Matthew White,——St. Swithin's-Lane
Woodmason and Page,——Leadenhall-Street
James Woodmason, Esq.——Bond-Street

Y

Major William Young

ERRATA.

VOL. I.

Page	Line	
15	12	after the word *to* add *them*
21	21	after *Frigate* add *who*
56	7&8	for *que d'arriver* read *qu'arriver*
60	—	Latin quotation misplaced, *begin with the lower line*
75	7	*seems to be* for *seem to be*
90	5	*Dura* for *duræ*
109	1&2	for *Enfant* read *Enfans*
124	19	for *and have* read *and they have*
141	10	for *petite* read *petit*
149	14	for *ſont* read *ſent*
156	9	for *occultis* read *occultis*
195	10	for *ſtand as* read *ſtands a*
195		laſt line, after *celui* add *qui*
449	2	for *and* read *ſhould*

VOL. II.

Page	Line	
52	11	for *Fancis* read *Francis*
190	14	for 1788 read 1778
197	17	for *entertain* read *entertained*
221		laſt line *eſteeming* for *eſteemed*
225	11	*were under* for *they were under*
283	16	for *making of Cyder* read *making Cyder*
288	15	omit the word *Old*
361	16	inſtead of *for* read *or*
376	2	omit *the* after *Year*
395	7	after *Purſes* add *which*
425	18	*bearing* for *leaving*
480	6	after *he* add *had*
505	22	for *petits* read *petites*
506	1	for *true* read *truce*

TRAVELS

THROUGH THE

INTERIOR PARTS

OF

AMERICA.

LETTER I.

Cork, Auguſt 8th, 1776.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

I RECEIVED your letter, dated the 2d inſtant, and ſurely nothing can be more flattering than the warm teſtimony of regard and friendſhip every line of it ſpeaks.—It was with great reluctance you conſented to my going into the army, but a dull inactive life neither ſuited my circumſtances nor my inclination, and an early

love of a military one, ſoon determined my choice. My time and poor abilities cannot be ſo well employed, as in the ſervice of my King and country.

I have no regrets at quitting England, but the loſs I muſt ſuſtain in your pleaſant and improving converſation; and am perſuaded you will alleviate as many of thoſe painful reflections as poſſible, by taking every opportunity of writing to me.—None ſhall be omitted, on my part, of aſſuring you how often I think of you, and the implicit attention I ſhall ever pay to your commands, in giving you a deſcription of perſons, places, and various occurrences—and ſhould I ſometimes be too particular on trivial ſubjects, you muſt excuſe it, and remember the two prevailing motives you aſſigned for this kind of correſpondence—the pleaſure you was ſo obliging to ſay it would afford you, and the utility you thought it would be of to me,

by

by calling my attention to whatever became in the leaſt worthy of obſervation.

This is the laſt you muſt expect from me on this ſide the Atlantic, as in a few days we ſail, with the care of ſome recruits for the 47th regiment.

I once more entreat you, my dear friend, to take every opportunity of writing to me, and believe that time and diſtance can never abate the reſpect and friendſhip with which I am,

Yours, &c.

LETTER II.

On board the Howe, on the Banks of Newfoundland. Sept. 11th, 1776.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

IT would be very ungrateful indeed not to embrace the opportunity, by a ſhip that is bound for England, now lying too for letters, to ſend you a haſty account of the events that have happened ſince my departure from Ireland.

You know I had the care of ſome recruits for the 47th regiment; and as they were compoſed of that nation, no leſs famous for their characteriſtic errors, than their ſpirit and unbounded hoſpitality, let me relate a caſual occurrence or two, in place of novelty, which cannot be expected,

ed, ſituated as I am, between ſky and water.

There were continually ſome little diſputes among theſe Hibernians. One day, on hearing a more than uſual noiſe upon deck, I went up to enquire the occaſion of it, and learnt it was a quarrel between two of them. Upon aſking the cauſe of him who appeared the tranſgreſſor, he exclaimed, "Oh! and plaiſe your Honor, I "did nothing to him at all, at all"---when the other haſtily replied, "Oh yes, and "plaiſe your Honor, he ſaid as how he "would take up a ſtick and blow my "brains out." The peculiar manner in which it was vociferated, was ſo truly comic, that I could not refrain from laughter, and merely reprimanding them, overlooked the offence.

The weather has been very pleaſant, 'till a few days previous to our coming on

theſe Banks, when there enſued a moſt dreadful ſtorm. The ſhip was unable to carry the leaſt ſail, being left to the fury of the driving tempeſt, it was impoſſible for any one to keep the deck, and the helm was laſhed hard of weather.

About the third day the ſtorm began to abate, and the evening became almoſt calm. But there was ſuch a prodigious ſwell of the ſea, that the ſhip was expected every moment to roll her maſts overboard: ſhe had driven ſo much to the leeward, that although we could not diſcern land, the yards and rigging were covered with birds, that were blown from it by the ſtorm.

At this time, one of my recruits coming upon deck, not obſerving any one there, and the ſea ſo tremendous, immediately went below, and cried out to his companions, "Oh! by my ſoul, honeys, the

"ſea

" ſea is very dreadful, and we are all ſure " to be drowned, for the ſhip's a ſinking. " However, I have this conſolation, that " if ſhe goes to the bottom, the Captain " muſt be accountable for us when we get " to Quebec." And his fears operated ſo powerfully, that he gave a groan, and fainted away.

A few days after this the ſea, which before had been ſo tremendous, and to uſe the technical phraſe, run mountains high, was now become as calm as a mill-pond. It is cuſtomary, on ſuch weather, in a fleet, for one ſhip to invite the Captains and paſſengers of others to dinner. The mode of invitation on theſe occaſions, is by hoiſting a table-cloth to the enſign-ſtaff.

We hung out this ſignal, and the Captain of the neareſt ſhip, with an officer, came on board. After dinner, ſo ſudden

and ſtrong a breeze ſprung up, as to render their return very unſafe, and it was two days before they could venture, when even then they accompliſhed it with imminent danger.

This is a little anecdote I cannot help wiſhing to be much noticed, as it might be a caution to young officers and captains of ſhips, how they make nautical viſits, or upon any occaſion quit their veſſels.

Theſe Banks may be ranked amongſt the many ſurpriſing and wonderful works of nature, being a mountain formed under water, by the ſlime that is continually waſhing away from the Continent. Its extent has never yet been aſcertained, but is generally reckoned to be about 160 leagues long, and 90 broad. About the middle of it is a kind of bay, called the Ditch. The depth of water varies conſiderably,

derably, being in ſome places only five, and in others ſixty fathom. The ſun is ſcarcely ever to be diſcerned, a cold thick fog generally covering the whole atmoſphere, which renders it extremely dangerous to a fleet; for it is at times a ſtate of total darkneſs, where a continual firing of guns, or inceſſant noiſe of the drum, can alone prevent the ſhips running foul of each other.

The winds around theſe Banks are generally very impetuous; the conſtant agitation of the waves, I am informed, is occaſioned from the ſea being driven by irregular currents, that beat ſometimes on one ſide and ſometimes on the other, ſtriking with great force againſt the borders of theſe Banks, which are every where almoſt perpendicular, and repel them with equal violence: and yet, on the Banks themſelves, a little from the coaſt, it is as quiet as in a bay,

bay, except there happens to be a ſtrong and forced wind coming from a great diſtance.

When we found we were upon theſe Banks, which is perceptible without ſounding, as the water changes from an azure blue to a white ſandy color, we laid too in order to fiſh for cod, the proceſs of which is no leſs entertaining than ſurprizing to Europeans.

After baiting the hooks with the entrails of a fowl, in a few minutes we caught a fiſh, when the ſailors made uſe of ſome part of the entrails, as being a better bait, and then drew up the cod as faſt as you can poſſibly imagine; for though we remained there only half an hour, we caught as many as would ſerve the ſhip's crew the reſt of the voyage.

You may wonder by what means they are certain of having caught a fiſh, with

ſo

ſo many fathom of line out. When it has been a little while in the water, they gently pull it with the finger and thumb, and if there is a fiſh, the ſtruggling of it occaſions a vibration of the line, which is very perceptible, though ſo many fathoms deep. They then haul it in, and as ſoon as the fiſh comes in view, the water magnifies it to ſuch a ſize, that it appears almoſt impoſſible to get it on board; and indeed it requires ſome dexterity, for on hauling them out of the water they ſtruggle with ſuch violence, as frequently to work themſelves off the hooks, by entangling the line in the rigging, before they can be got up the ſhip's ſide.

But thoſe veſſels which particularly follow this buſineſs, avoid the inconvenience by erecting galleries on the outſide, from the main-maſt to the ſtern, and ſometimes the whole length of the ſhip, in which are placed barrels with the tops ſtruck out,

and

and the fiſhermen get into theſe to ſhelter themſelves from the weather. Their ſtay, I imagine, cannot be long, as the method of curing is equally as expeditious as the catching them; for as ſoon as the cod is caught, they cut out its tongue, and give it to one who immediately ſtrikes off its head, plucks out its liver and entrails, and giving it to another, the bone is drawn out as far as the navel; it is then thrown into the hold of the ſhip, where it is ſalted and ranged in piles. The perſon who ſalts it is careful to leave ſufficient ſalt between the rows of fiſh, to prevent them touching each other, and yet not too much, as either exceſs would ſpoil the cod.

The right of fiſhing upon the Great Bank, by the law of nature, ought to have been common to all mankind; but England and France, being the only two powers that had colonies in North America, made no ſcruple to appropriate to themſelves, what

what Spain certainly had the greateſt claim to, as the original diſcoverers of it; and who, from the number of her monks and prieſts, as well as her religion, might have pleaded the neceſſity of keeping. Yet at the concluſion of the laſt peace, they entirely gave up all pretenſions to it: ſince which time England and France are the only nations that frequent thoſe latitudes, and both have frigates continually cruizing, to prevent the encroachments of other nations.

The produce of this fiſhery is certainly a moſt inexhauſtible wealth to both countries, and it is no wonder they are ſo very tenacious of it: yet it is ſurprizing what a large circuit the ſhips are obliged to take before their voyage is compleated, and the profits reſulting from this fiſhery returns to either, nearly traverſing by water half the globe: for, in the firſt inſtance, they ſail from their reſpective ports

in

in Europe to theſe Banks, from whence they proceed with their cargoes to the Mediterranean and African iſlands, where they diſpoſe of their fiſh for the produce of thoſe iſlands, then go to the Weſt Indies, to exchange that cargo, and return home laden with ſugars and rum.

It appears a very ſingular circumſtance, that theſe Banks ſhould abound with cod and no other fiſh; and that the greateſt philoſophers have never been able to account for it.

The Captain of the ſhip that is waiting for our letters growing impatient, obliges me to make a haſty concluſion, with wiſhing you health and happineſs, and aſſuring you that you ſhall hear from me as ſoon as I arrive at Quebec.

I am,

Yours, &c.

LETTER III.

Quebec, Oct. 8th, 1776.

DEAR SIR,

AFTER a fatiguing paſſage of eleven weeks, attended with no little danger, we are ſafe arrived at Quebec, which before I proceed to give you any deſcription of, it will be more methodical to relate the occurrences that befel us the remainder of our voyage.

I told you in my laſt, that we had frigates cruizing on the Banks, one of which informed us, that there were ſeveral privateers in the river Saint Laurence. Had we been leſs attentive to, and more apprehenſive of the ſhoals and ſands that river abounds with, rendering its navigation difficult

ficult and dangerous, it would have been better for us; for a few days after we had paſſed Cape Roſier, a favorable wind ſpringing up, the Captain crouded all the ſail he poſſibly could, in order to get the next morning to the iſle of Bec, where he might find a pilot, being very uneaſy, as he had never been up that river before.

But to our great ſurprize and aſtoniſhment, about one o'clock in the morning, we run right upon a ſhoal (which is called Mille Vache) with amazing violence.

A ſhip belonging to the fleet that had gone a head in the day time, and perceived the ſhoal, (being low water) had immediately brought too, to warn us of our danger, which they did, by firing ſignal guns. But the Captain miſtaking them for thoſe of a privateer, returned the ſhot.

The

The ſhip beat with great violence, and was every moment expected to go to pieces; but the tide ſoon turning, ſhe reſted upon the ground, and to our great aſtoniſhment, at the break of day, we found ourſelves ſo near the ſhore, that, to uſe a ſea phraſe, we could almoſt chuck a biſcuit on it.

Upon the clearing up of a fog, a ſhip was diſcerned, which proved to be the ſame that had fired guns in the night time: ſhe was then about three leagues diſtant. We immediately fired guns of diſtreſs, of which ſhe took no notice, and imagined ſhe had, as too frequently is the caſe, deſerted us, becauſe we were in diſtreſs and ſtood in need of her aſſiſtance.

However, we found friends in a quarter we little expected, for a canoe with three men paddled from the ſhore, one of whom came on board and told us, we were very fortunate to have ſtruck at the time of

ſpring-tides, or there would be no probability of the ſhip's being got off. He directed us, when the tide was coming in, to carry out the bow anchor the length of the cable, and then made no doubt, but at the full, the ſhip would float again, and we might warp off.

After having given every proper inſtruction, he took his leave, requeſting, at the ſame time, that in caſe we were ſo unfortunate as not to effect it, we would come aſhore to his houſe, offering every aſſiſtance to ſave the cargo, and with a ſloop of his to take us up the river.

At the return of the tide ſome men were ſent out with the anchor, according to the directions given; at the heighth of it we floated, and to the joyful ſatisfaction of every one, got clear off, ſuſtaining no other damage than the loſs of two anchors: yet ſuch was the Captain's care and anxiety for his

his owners, that, I am perſuaded, he would not have expreſſed half the concern for the loſs of the whole ſhip's burthen and company, that he did for his anchors: as with Captains of hired tranſports, the crew and the cargo are but ſecondary objects.

This is one inſtance of the numberleſs accidents that await tranſports, by which, I am convinced, the ſervice is retarded, and many operations, however critical, which depend on troops and proviſion, are often fruſtrated, either by deſign or negligence. For only figure to yourſelf what a ſituation an army of ſo many thouſands as that we have upon the Continent, and thoſe chiefly fed with proviſions from the Mother Country, muſt be in, upon the ſlighteſt delay.

It is much to be lamented, therefore, that all tranſports are not commanded by King's officers, or at leaſt the maſter made

more ſubject to controul, when under convoy, or naval orders; as it would prevent the inconvenience and hazard that is continually happening to the King's ſervice.

You will ſuppoſe it ſurprizing that this has never been noticed and remedied by thoſe in power. I ſhould have thought the affair of the powder-ſhip that went into Boſton, would have occaſioned a thorough inveſtigation of this iniquitous buſineſs.

The Captains of tranſports in general, are a ſet of people who have their own intereſt much more at heart than the welfare of their country; and it is well known that many of them are diſaffected to Government, which was the caſe of the Captain of the ſhip juſt alluded to, but where the blame is to be imputed, is not for me to ſay. As in all probability you may not

not have heard of this affair, or the real truth of it may not have reached you, I ſhall relate the matter, as I had it from a Captain of a ſhip who ſailed in the ſame fleet, whoſe veracity can be relied on, and from the amazing ſtrange circumſtances which attended the loſs of that ſhip, you may form your own opinions.

It ſeems this veſſel was an immenſe charge, containing 1500 barrels of gunpowder, beſides a great quantity of other warlike ſtores. Several perſons well diſpoſed to Government, and who were perfectly aquainted with the Captain's principles, informed thoſe who had the direction of tranſports at Cork, that this man would, the very firſt opportunity, leave the convoy and join the Americans, but no attention was paid to the information; upon which they expreſſed their apprehenſions to the Captain of the frigate was to convoy them out, who promiſed to

take all poſſible care of that ſhip during the voyage: and every one in the fleet thought he was not the man repreſented, as he kept cloſe under the ſtern of the frigate.

When the fleet came off Boſton harbour, a frigate that was cruizing for the purpoſe, informed them, that the King's troops had evacuated Boſton, and gone to Halifax; and in the fleet's ſailing to that place, in one of thoſe fogs that I have already deſcribed to you, the Captain of the powder-ſhip ſeized the opportunity, left the fleet, and ſailed back for Boſton, at the mouth of which harbour was ſtationed a fifty-gun ſhip, to prevent any veſſel from going in, that might have eſcaped any of the frigates that were cruizing.

Upon the Captain of the tranſport's being interrogated by the man of war, he acknowledged himſelf bound for Boſ-

ton,

ton, that he had not heard of the troops evacuating it, and ſeveral more excuſes; but ſome doubts and ſuſpicions ariſing from the man's converſation, and ſhe being found a ſhip of ſuch an immenſe treaſure, an officer was ſent on board her, and as the evening was coming on, laſhed her to his main-maſt, intending to ſail her the next morning for Halifax, under the beſt convoy he could afford.

But to ſhew you what a determined villain the Captain of the tranſport was, in the night time, he confined the Lieutenant, who was ſent on board, cut away from the man of war, and under cover of the night, made all poſſible expedition to get into Boſton.

The tide would not anſwer his purpoſe that time, and the man of war could not come up to her, for want of a ſufficient

depth of water. The Captain manned his pinnace, and ſent another Lieutenant on board her. Upon the officer's attempting it, the Captain ſtruck a harpoon into his ſkull; he fell into the boat, and the reſt finding a great reſiſtance, and that they were likely to be overpowered, rowed back again.

The tide now turned, and he got the ſhip ſafe under the cannon of the Americans, before a greater force could be diſpatched to retake poſſeſſion of her.

The loſs on our ſide was great indeed, but the advantage to the Americans was tenfold, as they were in the utmoſt diſtreſs for thoſe materials, and which event may in ſome meaſure procraſtinate this unfortunate war.

Two days after our late accident, we arrived off the iſle of Condre, where we got a pilot,

a pilot, and three days after anchored safe in the bason of this city.

Fearful of being too late to send this by a ship that is just sailing for England, there is only time to assure you, that I shall embrace every opportunity of convincing you, with how much sincerity and friendship I am,

Yours, &c.

LET-

LETTER IV.

Quebec, October 15th, 1776.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

BEFORE you have any account of this city and its environs, I ſhall deſcribe to you the river Saint Laurence, which, upon their firſt ſailing up it, is the aſtoniſhment and admiration of every European. In forming an idea of a river, people in general are apt to judge by compariſon: thoſe who have made the tour of Europe, inſtantly call to mind the Rhine and the Danube; thoſe who have not, the Thames. What will you ſay, when you are informed that theſe, though very noble and beautiful, are but mere rivulets, when put

put in competition with that of Saint Laurence.

This river iſſues from lake Ontario, taking its courſe north-eaſt, waſhing Montreal, where it receives the Outtuais, forming many fertile iſlands, and a lake which is called St. Pierre. It continues the ſame courſe, and meets the tide 400 miles from the ſea, where it is navigable for large veſſels. After receiving in its progreſs innumerable ſtreams, this great river falls into the ocean at Cape Roſier; it is there 90 miles broad, where the cold in general is ſevere, and the ſea rather boiſterous. In its progreſs it forms variety of bays, harbours and iſlands, many of the latter being extremely fruitful and pleaſant.

The river Saint Laurence has ever been looked upon as a good defence to this province, for in the neighbourhood of Quebec, it

it abounds with hidden rocks, with ſtrong currents in many places, which force the ſhips to make various windings. From the time that Quebec was beſieged by Sir William Phipps, in the year 1690, who was obliged to retire with a great loſs of ſhipping, this river was very little known to the Engliſh till the year 1759, when Sir Charles Saunders, with a fleet of 50 Engliſh men of war, and near 300 ſail of tranſports, arrived off Quebec, without the loſs of a ſingle ſhip, which clearly proves thoſe dangers were not ſo great as had been repreſented. Since that time it has been better known; and though we have not at preſent at this place ſo many men of war, yet there are near as many tranſports, notwithſtanding the navigation up this river from the ſea is rendered very dangerous, by the ſtrength of the current and the number of ſand-banks, which frequently ariſe in places where they never appeared before; the fatal conſequences of which

which ſeveral veſſels have experienced this war.

There are abundance of porpoiſes in the river St. Laurence, which are moſtly white, and when they riſe to the ſurface of the water, have the appearance of an hog ſwimming. At night, if I may be allowed the expreſſion, without being accuſed of an Iriciſm, they cauſe moſt beautiful *fire* works in the water: for being in ſuch abundance, and darting with amazing velocity, a continued ſtream of light glides through the water, and as ſhoals of them frequently croſs each other, the luminous appearance is ſo pictureſque, that no deſcription can reach it.

On our entering the river St. Laurence, we ſaw, off the iſland of Anticoſti, a great number of ſeals, one of which we caught. This animal is generally ranked amongſt the claſs of fiſh, although produced on land,

land, and living more there than in water. Its head reſembles that of a maſtiff, it has four paws which are very ſhort, eſpecially the hinder ones, ſerving rather to crawl, than to walk upon, and reſembling fins; but the fore feet have claws; the ſkin is exceeding hard and covered with ſhort hair; they are firſt white, but as they grow up turn to ſandy or black, and ſome of them are of three different colours.

There are two ſorts, the larger weighing near two thouſand pounds, and have a ſharper ſnout than the others. I have been told that the Indians have the art of taming theſe creatures, ſo as to make them follow like a dog.

I am led to imagine they couple and bring forth their young on the rocks, from this reaſon, wherein the powerful inſtinct of nature ſhewed itſelf very predominantly: one day, ſeveral large ones that had got their

their young on their backs, dropt them now and then into the water and took them up again, which no doubt, as being brought forth upon land, was to teach them to ſwim; it is not very ſurprizing, when it is conſidered this animal is amphibious: but the mode is exactly the ſame, only changing the element, with that of the feathered creation, whoſe little ones flutter from ſpray to ſpray, before they venture to fly abroad. The eagle carries her young, to train them up to encounter boiſterous winds.

Theſe animals are caught on the coaſt of Labrador. The Canadians go to this frozen and almoſt uninhabitable coaſt, in the middle of October, and remain there till June; their mode of catching them is by placing nets between the continent and a few ſmall iſlands, where coming in ſhoals from the eaſt, in attempting to paſs theſe ſtraights, they are caught; they then con-

vey

vey them to land, where they remain frozen till the month of May; the oil is then extracted from them, and it is ſaid that ſeven or eight of theſe animals will yield a hogſhead. The uſe of its ſkin is ſo generally known, it needs no deſcription; its fleſh is allowed to be very good, but if you had partaken of it, as I have done, you would coincide with me in opinion, that it turns to better account when converted into blubber.

The tide goes a league beyond Trois Rivieres, which is thirty leagues higher up the river. The difference of the tide at this place is generally between forty-five and forty-eight feet, but at the new and full moon, from fifty-four to fifty-ſeven, which is very conſiderable.

The river is three quarters of a mile broad here, and as the ſea water, though it does not come up immediately to the town,

town, renders it ſomewhat brackiſh, the inhabitants make uſe of it only for culinary purpoſes, having ſpring water for their beverage.

In ſailing up the river St. Laurence, the firſt plantations you meet with are about fifty leagues on the ſouth, and twenty on the north ſide of the river, below Quebec: they are but thinly ſcattered, and their produce very indifferent. The fertile fields commence near the capital, which I am informed grow better, the nearer you advance to Montreal.

About half way up the river, we came to the *Iſles aux Oiſeaux*, and paſſed them about the diſtance of a cannon ſhot; they are two rocks that riſe up in a conical form, about 60 feet above the ſurface of the water, the largeſt of which appeared to be about two or three hundred feet in circumference; they are very near one another,

and there does not appear a ſufficient depth of water between them for a ſmall ſhallop. It is difficult to ſay what color theſe are of, as both ſurface and banks are entirely covered with the dung of the birds that reſort thither; however, there were diſcernable in places ſome veins of a reddiſh caſt.

One of the mates of the ſhip ſaid he had been on them, and had loaded a ſmall ſhallop with eggs, which were of different ſorts, and that the ſtench ariſing from the dung was almoſt inſupportable. Beſides the ſea-gulls, and other fowls from the neighbouring lands, there is found a ſpecies that cannot fly. It appears to me wonderful, in ſo prodigious a multitude of neſts, how every one finds its own. At my requeſt, the Captain of the ſhip fired a cannon ſhot, which ſpread the alarm over all this feathered commonwealth, when there aroſe over the two

iſlands

iſlands a thick cloud of fowl, at leaſt two or three leagues in circuit.

One material circumſtance I forgot to mention to you, happened in our voyage to this place. In the middle of Auguſt, after we had been incommoded for ſeveral days with exceſſive heats, one morning, ſoon after we got up, we felt ſuch an intenſe cold, that both the Captain and myſelf were obliged to put on our great coats. We could by no means imagine the cauſe of this alteration, the weather being extremely fine, and particularly as the wind did not blow from the north. But on the third morning, juſt before day-break, a ſailor called out with all his might, "luff, luff," which the man at the helm had ſcarcely done, when an enormous piece of ice paſſed along-ſide of the veſſel, which infallibly muſt have daſhed her to pieces, had ſhe ſtruck againſt it. At day-break we ſaw it, when it appeared to be about ſix times as

large as our ſhip, and twice the heighth of its maſts. You well know that only one third of ice, while ſwimming, appears above water, and when that is conſidered, I do not wonder that the ignorant ſhould not readily aſſent to the relations given by travellers, of theſe frozen productions of nature.

Having already ſwelled this letter beyond its intended limits, and wiſhing to avoid, as much as poſſible, being too diffuſe on trivial ſubjects, I ſhall conclude it with my beſt wiſhes for your welfare and happineſs, aſſuring you that I am, with friendſhip and eſteem,

Yours, &c.

LET-

LETTER V.

Quebec, Oct. 24th, 1776.

DEAR SIR,

AGREEABLE to my promiſe in a former letter, I ſhall now proceed in the deſcription of the river St. Laurence, with ſome occurrences which befel us, previous to our arrival at Quebec.

One of the fineſt bays to be met with in going up the river, is that of St. Paul, and as we were under the neceſſity of anchoring oppoſite to it, till the return of tide, I prevailed on the Captain to go on ſhore.

Upon our landing, the Prieſt of the pariſh came and invited us to his houſe, treating us with much hoſpitality. He was a man rather advanced in years, a native of France, and poſſeſſed of great learning; he had been recommended by the French Court to the Biſhop of Quebec, while this province was under their government, and, as I am afraid is the caſe with too many well deſerving characters, was poorly rewarded, by being made Prieſt of this ſmall pariſh, for ſome eſſential ſervices he had rendered the French, which, however, has many privileges annexed to it.

From the great veneration and reſpect that was ſhewn him, one would naturally conclude he was much beloved by his pariſhioners, and his converſation turned upon making them happy, by inſtructing them both in religious and moral duties, encouraging induſtry, and diveſting them

of

of thoſe innate ſavage diſpoſitions, which, he obſerved, the lower ſort of Canadians are but too prone to.

It was impoſſible to ſay which ſhould be moſt admired, his ſmile of welcome, the neatneſs of the repaſt, or the hilarity of his converſation; all of which gave me the greater pleaſure, when put in contraſt with the other French Prieſts I have met with, who are auſtere and contracted, and ſo diſguſting, that rather than ſit down with them, I would eat hay with my horſe.

This bay is about eighteen leagues below Quebec, containing only this ſmall pariſh, which is ſome diſtance from the ſhore of the bay, on a low plain, formed by the river. It is ſurrounded with exceeding high mountains on every ſide, excepting one large gap, which runs parallel to the river. The farms are at ſome diſtance from each other, and the church is

reckoned one of the moſt ancient in Canada, which ſeems confirmed by its bad architecture, and the want of ornaments; the walls are formed of pieces of timber, erected at two feet diſtance, which ſupport the roof, and between theſe timbers the ſpace is filled up with a kind of lime-ſlate. The church has no ſteeple, its roof is flat, and above this roof a bell is fixed in the open air. Moſt of the country around this bay belongs to the Prieſt, who lets it to the farmers.

The inhabitants chiefly live by agriculture, and the profits ariſing from their commerce in tar, which they extract from the red pine, by making an inciſion into the tree in the ſpring of the year, when the ſap is riſing, and before the tree has ſtopped running, it will produce ſeveral gallons of turpentine, which they eaſily manufacture into tar.

It may be conjectured, that the country ſituated upon the bay of this river being low, it was originally part of the bottom of the river, and was formed either by the decreaſe of water, or increaſe of earth, carried from the brooks, or thrown on it by ſtorms, as a great part of the plants that grow here are marine. But in order fully to inform myſelf whether it was really as I apprehended, I enquired of ſeveral of the inhabitants, if ever they had found any ſhells in digging, who anſwered, that they had never met with any thing but different kinds of earth and ſand.

There is one thing very remarkable, of which we had a proof: the wind is generally different in the bay to what it is in the river, for upon ſailing into the bay we had as favourable a wind as could blow, but in the moment of entrance, it was directly the reverſe, which is thus acounted for: the bay being ſurrounded on all ſides, except

except one, with high mountains, and covered with tall woods, when the wind comes from the river, it ſtrikes againſt ſome of theſe mountains, where it is repelled, and conſequently takes an oppoſite direction.

The people who inhabit this bay, as likewiſe thoſe ſettled lower down the river, ſeem very poor; they have the neceſſaries of life in abundance, but debar themſelves of the comforts that ſhould ariſe from them, living chiefly upon bread and milk, and carrying their other proviſions, ſuch as butter, cheeſe, fleſh, poultry, eggs, &c. to market, where having diſpoſed of them, they purchaſe cloaths, brandy, and dreſſes for the women. Yet notwithſtanding their *pauvre* manner of living, they are always chearful and in high ſpirits.

Our object on going on ſhore was not ſo much to gratify our curioſity, as to procure

procure ſome vegetables; and as the Captain of the ſhip could not ſpeak a word of French, as indifferent a Frenchman as you know me to be, I was obliged to be the interpreter on this occaſion. I however made the inhabitants underſtand me very well, till I aſked for ſome potatoes, by the uſual ſchool term of *pommes de terre*, and by which I underſtand they are called in France; yet, notwithſtanding the Canadians are allowed to ſpeak as pure French as at Paris, I could not make them comprehend what it was I wanted, the man continually ſaying, *Monſieur, je ſuis bien faché de ne pouvoir comprendre ce que vous ſouhaitez*; at the ſame time expreſſing great uneaſineſs, as I repeatedly aſſured him, *que j'étois bien ſur qu'il en avoit*, which ſeemed to vex him ſtill more. However, in walking over his plantation, I happened to ſee a parcel in the corner of a ſhed; pointing to them I ſaid, *Voila ce que je demande*, upon which, with great

great joy in his countenance, he exclaimed, *Oh! Monſieur, ce ſont des putat, putat*; adding, with great heartineſs, *Qu'il etoit bien aiſe d'etre en etat de me ſatisfaire.* Upon my telling him, in England we called them *pommes de terre*, he added, with a remark which I ſhould not have expected, *Que ce nom leur convenoit mieux que tout autre.* As I paid him very liberally for the vegetables we had of him, he ſaid, with great expreſſion of gratitude, *Ah! Monſieur, je me ſouviendrai toujours de vos bontés et des pommes de terre.*

Canada, from the fertility of its ſoil, and the ſalubrity of its climate, you would naturally imagine, contributed greatly to its own proſperity; but theſe, as in moſt other ſituations, are counterbalanced by its diſadvantages. Canada has only one river for its exports and imports, and even this is ſo blocked up with ice, as not to be navi-

gable

gable during ſix months, while heavy fogs render the navigation ſlow and difficult the remainder of the year. And although the produce of Canada is ſuperior to that of the other provinces, ſtill the latter, not having ſimilar impediments to encounter, will always have a decided advantage over this, in the convenience of almoſt uninterrupted navigation.

The farm houſes are moſtly built of timber, conſiſting of three or four rooms, and in one they have an iron ſtove, which is rendered ſo hot, as to communicate ſufficient warmth to the reſt. The roofs are covered with boards, and the crevices and chinks of the timbers are filled with clay, and their out buildings are thatched with ſtraw.

Below the bay of Gaſpey there is an iſland, called *Iſle Percée*; on your approach to it, it has the appearance of the fragment

ment of an old wall, being a ſteep rock of about thirty fathoms in length, ten in heighth, and four in breadth, which the pilot told us was reported formerly to have joined *Mont Joli*, which ſtands oppoſite to it upon the Continent. This rock has in the center of it an opening, in the form of an arch (through which a ſmall ſchooner might paſs in full ſail); from which circumſtance, you will eaſily imagine, it derives its name of *Iſle Percée*.

The laſt object that attracts your attention before you enter the harbour of Quebec, is the iſle of Orleans, a moſt beautiful large iſland, ſituated in the middle of the river St. Laurence. It is ſeven leagues and a half long, and two broad, in the wideſt part, very high, with ſhores extremely ſteep and woody, though in ſome places there is a gradual deſcent to the river, and where that is the caſe, it is entirely free from woods, and upon theſe

ſpots

ſpots there are farm houſes cloſe to the ſhore.

The iſle itſelf is well cultivated, and the eye is continually amuſed with large ſtone houſes, corn fields, meadows, paſtures and woods, with the addition of ſeveral good ſtone churches, ſome of which ſtand ſo cloſe to the river, and it being Sunday when we paſſed the iſland, that we heard them at maſs.

The river St. Laurence, till you come to this iſland, is moſtly four or five leagues in breadth, but after you paſs it, ſuddenly narrows, ſo as to be no more than a mile broad at Quebec, and from which circumſtance this city derives its name, from the Indian word Quebeio, or Quebec, which ſignifies a ſtrait or narrowing.

Shortly after we had paſſed this iſland, and turned Point Levy; we entered the harbour,

harbour, which has the appearance of a large bay, for Point Levy ſtretches itſelf out towards the Iſle of Orleans, ſo as to hide the ſouth channel; and that iſland projects ſo as to conceal the north.

On entrance, you are ſtruck with the grandeur and confuſion and variety of objects that preſent themſelves: fronting is the city; on the right is the beautiful fall of Montmorency, and a view up the river St. Charles; on the left there is an extenſive view up the river St. Laurence, and over the falls of Montmorency; a delightful proſpect of ſeveral leagues round the country, interſperſed with the villages of Beauport, Charlebourg, &c. a particular account of which I ſhall give you in my next.

I am, yours, &c.

LET-

LETTER VI.

Quebec, October 27th, 1776.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

IN my deſcription of this province, you muſt not expect a tireſome detail of diſtances, or a romantic deſcription of the country, but a few general obſervations, as I ſhall paſs through the different parts of it, which are deſerving notice.

This city, the capital of Canada, from the ſingularity of its ſituation, boaſts of having that which no other city in the known world poſſeſſes, a freſh water harbour, an hundred and twenty leagues from

the ſea, capable of containing an hundred ſhips of the line; it is built in the form of an amphitheatre, on the declivity of a peninſula, formed by the rivers St. Laurence and St. Charles, and commands a proſpect over extenſive fields, which appears rich, lively and beautiful.

This city ſuffered ſo much during the long ſiege, laſt winter, that it will by no means anſwer the beautiful deſcription given by that elegant writer Mrs. Brookes, in her Emily Montague, for many houſes were deſtroyed for fuel, others to prevent harbouring the enemy, and ſhot and ſhells continually defacing and burning the reſt, you muſt eaſily imagine, greatly contribute to deſtroy all ideas of regularity.

The city is divided into two towns, diſtinguiſhed by the *upper* and the *lower*, which, during the ſiege, were ſeparated by a ſtrong

ſtrong ſtockade, which proved extremely fortunate for us, as the enemy got into the lower town, but not being able to keep poſſeſſion, they ſet it on fire, and nearly deſtroyed the whole of it.

There are two communications from the lower to the upper town, the one for carriages, by a ſerpentine road up a very ſteep aſcent, and the other for foot paſſengers, up a flight of ſteps cut out of the rock.

The carriage road to the upper town, as well as the ſtreets in general, are almoſt impaſſable for either man or beaſt, never having been paved ſince the ſiege, when the pavement was entirely torn up, that the ſhells might bury themſelves in the ground before they burſt, whereby they were rendered leſs dangerous.

The diſtreſſes of the inhabitants in a beſieged town, at all times are very great;

but here they were rendered particularly ſo, from the extreme ſeverity of the weather, being deprived of fuel, and compelled to reſide in their cellars, as the only place that could afford them the leaſt ſhelter.

The Governor's houſe ſtands upon an high eminence, and being bomb-proof, the family thought themſelves in perfect ſecurity: from its elevation too, it was imagined to be out of the reach of cannon ſhot. One evening, however, they were rather unpleaſantly convinced of their error, by a ſhot paſſing through an adjoining room to that in which they were playing at cards; this threw them into no little confuſion, and obliged them to retire to that part of the houſe in which the other inhabitants were compelled to reſide.

You may remember, ſome months before my departure from England, that Mr.

Mr. W---, who is a *bon vivant*, jocularly remarked, if he were confined to any ſingle room, it ſhould be the cellar; he was then at the Governor's, enjoying his favourite wiſh, happy as good company and good wine could make him, the ſound of every cannon being the ſignal for a bumper.

A Major who was here during the ſiege, expreſſed his aſtoniſhment to me that the place held out ſo long, having an amazing ſeverity of weather, and numberleſs other difficulties to encounter; and that its ſafety was entirely owing to the great exertions of General Carleton, who continually encouraged the inhabitants to action, for they chiefly compoſed the ſtrength of the garriſon.

The ſuburb of *St. Fauxbourg* is entirely deſtroyed, but that, as well as the lower town, is now rebuilding, and when compleated, muſt add greatly to the beauty of

the city. There are ſeveral quays, and a convenient place for heaving down ſhips to be repaired, called *Cul de Sac*, where the King's ſhips lay up during the winter, to preſerve them from danger upon the freezing and breaking up of the ice, which is more hazardous than you can imagine; for unleſs the ſhips are got into this *Cul de Sac* in proper time, they are very much damaged, and ſometimes totally loſt, by the amazing iſlands of ice that float down the river.

This city is at preſent badly accommodated as to taverns, there being but one in the upper, and another in the lower town, both of them in the worſt ſtate imaginable; for although they provide good dinners, the reſt of the accommodations are ſuch as would diſgrace the meaneſt public-houſe in London. No attendance whatever from ſervants; no ſeperate apartments, and fifteen or twenty people are obliged to

ſleep

ſleep in one room, about a yard apart from each other; uſually deprived of natural reſt in ſuch vile dormitories, one ſcarcely feels refreſhed the whole day, and let me aſſure you, ſince I have been here, I have not enjoyed a good night's repoſe, from the ſonorous muſic I am ſurrounded with, ariſing from that natural and almoſt univerſal wind inſtrument, the noſe. The owners of theſe taverns imagine, if they give good dinners and good wine, they perform wonders. This, however, may be ſaid in their favour, as to accommodation, that this city has been for many months paſt in a very deranged ſtate, owing to the late ſiege.

The Canadians of the higher claſs are very polite and attentive to ſtrangers; a few days ſince, I was invited to dine with one of the principal merchants, *chez Monſieur Roberdeau*; the dinner was entirely after the French faſhion, and diſplayed

with much taſte, but ſuch was the perverſeneſs of my Engliſh ſtomach, that it could not reliſh one of their made diſhes; and although I endeavoured to eat, out of compliment, the maſter of the houſe perceived I did not do it with any guſto; he then ſaid, *Ah! Monſieur, vous ne faites que d'arriver dans ce pays; quand vous aurez été avec nous un certain tems, vous aimerez beaucoup notre cuiſine. Je ſuis bien faché que dans ce moment il ne ſe trouve rien à votre gout, mais quand vous me ferez l'honneur de venir une autrefois chez moi, j'aurai ſoin d'avoir du* ROAST BEEF *et du* PLUMB PUDDING *que les Anglois aiment tant.* When the deſert came, whichwas before the cloth was removed, I made amends for my not being able to eat at dinner, which the maſter of the houſe obſerving, ſaid, *Ah! Monſieur, ce n'eſt pas que vous ne vous ſouciez pas des viandes, mais c'eſt que vous etes un peu comme les enfans, vous aimez les friandiſes*; when, fearful leſt I ſhould be diſpleaſed at his raillery, with a polite-

a politeneſs truly French, he filled his glaſs, and added, *Allons, Monſieur, verſez et vive le Roi d'Angleterre.*

Fearful of loſing the opportunity that now preſents itſelf of conveying this to England, I have but juſt time ſubſcribe myſelf,

Yours, &c.

LET-

LETTER VII.

Quebec, October 30th, 1776.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

THE haſty concluſion I was obliged to put to my laſt, having prevented me from entering ſo fully into the deſcription of this city as I had intended, I now tranſmit to you ſome further particulars relative to its ſiege, and the religion of its inhabitants.

The cauſeway by which General Montgomery made his attack, is not more than twenty-four feet wide; on one ſide is a lofty perpendicular rock, and on the other a ſteep precipice, without any fence, down

to

to the river; this cauſeway was defended by two ſtrong barriers, and were I induced to give an opinion, nothing but a deſperate effort could juſtify the attack. The event fatally proved it; for upon the advance of the enemy, the firſt barrier was abandoned, which, after they had broke down, fluſhed with ſucceſs, and the hopes of eaſily gaining the upper town, they ruſhed on (with an intrepidity that might expect every thing from their valor) to the ſecond barrier, where two pieces of cannon were concealed, and upon their approach were immediately fired, when great numbers of them were killed and wounded, and in their retreat many fell down the precipice; this defeat greatly contributed to put an end to the ſiege, the termination of which, had nearly been fruſtrated, by the eager impetuoſity of the ſailors, who were poſted with thoſe guns, as they could ſcarcely be reſtrained from firing them when the enemy attacked the

firſt

firſt barrier, which, if they had done, the ſlaughter would not have been ſo great, nor the enemy perhaps have loſt their brave Commander. But by the threats of the officers upon duty at that poſt, the guns were not fired till the enemy were within a few yards of them; and as they advanced abreaſt, as many as the cauſeway would admit of, you may eaſily conceive what havoc there muſt have been amongſt them.

In this daring enterprize fell a man, who lived long enough to eſtabliſh a reputation, *Nec poterit ferrum, nec edax abolere vetuſtas, quod nec Jovis ira nec ignis*, as no doubt it will be handed down by the Americans to the lateſt ages. He died too ſoon for the ſupport of that unnatural faction, to which, from miſtaken principles, he was deeply attached; and being a man worthy of ſome notice, you ſhall know the little hiſtory I have been able to collect of him.

In

In the laſt war he was an officer in our ſervice, and diſtinguiſhed himſelf in ſeveral inſtances. At the peace he came over to this country, and married an American lady, where by his conduct and agreeable manners, he was reſpected as much as if he had been a native; and being, from his marriage and long reſidence in the country, conſidered as a man fit to be truſted with a command, he was appointed Brigadier General by the Congreſs; this commiſſion he wiſhed to decline, feeling a compunction, as a native of Great Britain, and once in the King's ſervice, to bear arms againſt his Sovereign. His wavering inclination was unfortunately ſubdued, by the over-perſuaſion of a fond wife, whom he loved moſt affectionately, and the importunate ſolicitation of his relations and friends. When he had taken a decided part, his conduct fully correſponded with the high opinion that had been formed of his abilities and fidelity. No one who lived ſo

ſhort

ſhort a time in their employ, could render them more important ſervices, or do their cauſe more honor.

When he had been induced to ſacrifice the happineſs he enjoyed in private life, and enter into the ſervice of the Congreſs, he was then abſolved from all views adverſe to their party (of which he had been ſuſpected) and conſidered as a man who took a part in the cauſe from conſcience and principle. In this light he was viewed while living, and ſpoken of when dead. He had the ſingular felicity of being equally eſteemed by the friends and foes of the party he eſpouſed; the latter acknowledged his worth, though they reprobated the cauſe in which he fell. To the praiſe of General Carleton, his remains were, by the General's order, interred with all military honors.

An

Very ſhortly after this repulſe, an American ſoldier, in attempting to ſtep out of his *batteaux*, at Wolfe's Cove, fell into the water, and catching hold of a flake of ice that was floating down the river, he got upon it, and was carried down the ſtream. As he paſſed Quebec cloſe to the ſhore, he was ſeen by a centinel, who obſerving a man in diſtreſs, called out for help, when numbers flew to his aſſiſtance, and found him motionleſs; by the help of ſpirituous liquors, with ſome difficulty they brought him to life for a moment, and juſt recovering ſpeech enough to tell them, that the city would not long be in our poſſeſſion, he inſtantly expired.

A mile from the city is a Convent, that was once poſſeſſed of a beautiful garden, but this, as well as their chapel, with the images and other ornaments of their religion, are greatly injured. The enemy, after

after taking poſſeſſion of the Convent, converted it into an hoſpital, and compelled the nuns to attend upon their ſick and wounded; and what was ſtill more perſecuting to their religion than to their wiſhes, ſeveral of the nuns, after they had abandoned it, proved capable of in ſome meaſure making up for the ravages of war, by producing what may in future become the ſtrength and ſupport of their country.

There are ſeveral churches in each town, but thoſe in the upper are the moſt magnificent, and have ſuſtained the leaſt damage. The largeſt of theſe churches, and what may be termed the cathedral, has nothing worthy of notice, except a handſome ſteeple; it is entirely roofed with ſlate, and is the only building I obſerved that has this advantage, they being all covered with ſhingles. It is much ornamented in the inſide; the gallery is bold, light,

light, and well wrought, ſurrounded with an iron balluſtrade, painted and gilt, of curious workmanſhip; one thing, however, appears very ſingular, that the pulpit is likewiſe gilt, and ſeems to have had more labor beſtowed *upon*, than it is ever likely to have *within* it; there are three altars handſomely deſigned, and ſome good pictures; it is without any dome or cupola, having only a flat ceiling, very curiouſly ornamented; it is not as in moſt Cathedrals, paved with ſtone, but floored with planks, which makes this church the more ſupportable in winter; in others you are generally ſtarved to death with cold. After the Romiſh ſervice is over, on a Sunday, the Governor, with the officers and ſoldiers of the garriſon, and the Proteſtant inhabitants of the city, reſort thither to their worſhip. This little circumſtance I mention to you, as the paſſing of the Quebec biil made ſuch a noiſe in England; clearly to ſhew there

is no animoſity among the inhabitants, on the ſcore of religion. Where the Canadians, who conſtitute the principal part of the inhabitants of this province, did not interfere with our religion, I cannot but think it was a very neceſſary and politic ſtep in Government to tolerate theirs; as at the time the bill paſſed, it was judged proper to make this ſacrifice to them, in order to gain their affections, which ſeemed to be wavering, whether they ſhould not join the other provinces in rebellion againſt England.

For my own part, I am led to imagine, from the converſation I have had with ſeveral of the principal inhabitants, they never were in the leaſt apprehenſive of their religion being ſuppreſſed, but that idea was inſtilled into their minds by ſome party at home, who, I am ſorry to obſerve, are more dangerous than any enemy we can poſſibly have abroad.

With

With all the advantages of the laws of our conſtitution, the toleration of their religion, and the bleſſings of liberty, the Canadians are by no means well affected to the Engliſh Government, but have a ſtrong propenſity to be under the protection of the French; and, I am confident, would aſſiſt the Americans, had we not ſuch a powerful force in this province.

The garriſon of this city, and a few inhabitants at Montreal, are ſtaunch to the intereſts of Government; for their fidelity and courage have been proved; upon the commencement of the ſiege, the General ordered every one out of the city, that he could entertain the leaſt ſuſpicion of, none of whom have ſince made their appearance.

The army is now returning from the Lakes, and at preſent the garriſon conſiſts of Colonel Maclean's regiment, and the

recruits lately arrived from England; the 34th regiment is daily expected, as the army is getting into winter quarters. General Carleton and General Burgoyne are both here, the latter of whom sails for England in a few days.

My friend Captain W---n, who is embarking for that country where my fondest wishes are placed, will deliver you this: he has just called upon me for my letters. I must therefore conclude. You shall hear from me by the latest ship that sails.

Yours, &c.

LET-

LETTER VIII.

Quebec, Nov. 4th, 1776.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

VISITING two or three of the villages round this city, has enabled me to give you ſome little deſcription of the country and its inhabitants.

About Charlebourg and Beauport it is rather *champaign*, but becomes more woody towards Lorette. The farm houſes interſperſed about the country are very numerous, and being generally whitened on the outſide, form a neat and pictureſque appearance: their houſes moſtly conſiſt of one floor, very few having a ſtory to them, which gives riſe to the idea, that the Ca-

nadians will *tell* a ſtory well, though they never *make* one.

You would be pleaſed to find them extremely neat in their houſes, very attentive to their cattle, and careful of the ſtock on their farms. They are at preſent employed in cutting and getting in wood for the winter, for themſelves and the market, for though it is ſo early, there has been a ſevere fall of ſnow; wood-cutting continues all this month, and in December, when the winter is ſet in, it is carried into the city upon ſleighs over the ſnow, being a much eaſier conveyance than with carts, as the roads are ſo intolerably bad.

The Canadians in general are a ſwarthy people, and low in ſtature; their dreſs conſiſts of a kind of jacket, and when the weather is cold, a blanket coat, which they faſten round them with a worſted ſaſh. They moſtly wear a woollen cap,

but

but in the cold weather a fur one, and have amazing long queues, of which they are exceedingly proud. They are ſeldom or ever found without a pipe in their mouths, a habit which they acquire in their very infancy. I was much ſurprized upon going into one of their houſes, in which there was a large family, moſtly boys, to find, that from the youngeſt up to the father, they all ſmoaked; nay, one of three years old had a pipe in his mouth. Their uſual mode of living being chiefly milk and vegetables, which, joined to the number of the faſt days impoſed on them by their religion, renders them a very meagre and ſlender people.

The women are extremely lively, good-natured and obliging, and very neat in their perſons, but have not the leaſt pretenſion to beauty. The men are far from agreeable, for ſince they have enjoyed the bleſſings of an Engliſh Government, they

are become insolent and overbearing, easily offended, and when they fancy themselves so, their cry is, *Je vais le dire au General Carleton*; and the General is of that good-natured, affable disposition, that he always listens to their complaints, and is continually plagued and tormented with some of the most trivial nature, by these troublesome and tenacious people, for they conceive their Governor is bound to hear them, especially their *Seigneurs*, or Lords of the village; it is a title you have not among you, but I assure you those who possess it here, fancy themselves of no little importance, and assume more consequence than the first peer in England.

These *Seigneurs* are descendants of those officers and gentlemen who first settled, and had grants in this province, when Canada was only a vast forest; who, not being proper persons to cultivate it themselves, nor possessed of a sufficient fund to pay labourers,

ers, let out the grounds at a very ſlender quit rent; ſo that with the fines, which were here very ſmall, and what is called the *Droit du Moulin, & Metairie*, a lordſhip, which conſiſts of two leagues in front, and an unlimited depth, can yield them no great revenue; and there are many planters on their manors, who by their induſtry have become wealthier than the owner himſelf; notwithſtanding which they ſtand in great awe of theſe *Seigneurs*, as they are deſcended from antient nobility in France, the forefathers of whom were permitted by Louis XIV. to exerciſe commerce as well by ſea as land, without queſtion, interruption, or derogating from their quality and rights; and to you, who ſo well know the French, I need not ſay in what manner any one deſcended from nobility conducts himſelf, and the *hauteur* he treats every one with.

About

About three leagues from this city is a nation of Indians, who live at a ſmall village called Indian Lorette: they are quite civilized, have a church, go regularly to maſs, and are extremely ingenious in making bead ornaments.

Theſe Indians, who are really Chriſtians, of the Romiſh perſuaſion, have a chapel built nearly on the model, and of the ſame dimenſions as that I have heard you relate you met with in Italy, of *Santa Caſa*, and, as in that, have an image of the Virgin, which, upon enquiry, appears to be a copy of that very ſtatue. Whether it was the effect of imagination, devotion, or of any other cauſe, I cannot ſay, but upon attending the chapel, I was ſeized with an inward and ſacred terror, of which I can give no account. The ſolid piety of the Indians, (whom we are taught to believe ſo naturally ferocious, as no edification, religious or moral, can overcome) added,

added to the gloomy horror of the ſituation, made a violent impreſſion upon me, which became the more ſtrong, upon obſerving the fervor and modeſty which they diſplayed in their devotions.

Theſe Indians had a great number of dogs with them, which ſeems to be the only domeſtic animal they breed; they are trained up for hunting, and are equal to any hounds; appearing to be all of one ſpecies, having upright ears, of dark brindled color, with a long ſnout, like that of a wolf. None of our Engliſh dogs are more remarkable for their fidelity, which is rather to be wondered at, being but very ill fed, and never careſſed by them.

As hereafter, and no doubt before my return to England, I ſhall meet with many Indians of different nations, cuſtoms and manners,

manners, give me leave to make a few reflections upon theſe ſavages, as they are called, and civilized man.

In regard to the former, their origin and antiquity is quite uncertain; the only matter, therefore, to be conſidered is, whether theſe untutored nations are more or leſs happy than us? Whether they, who are in the condition of man left to mere animal inſtinct, paſſing their lives in hunting, feeding, producing their ſpecies, and repoſing themſelves, do not paſs a life of more felicity than ours, who can enjoy every luxury of life, and vary our indulgences and wants in a thouſand ways?

It is in our nature and diſpoſitions, that we muſt look for the means of happineſs. Wherein then does it conſiſt? Preſent ſubſiſtence, and (which I think there can be none ſo hardened as not to have) a thought of futurity, and the hopes of enjoying every

bleſſing that is attendant on it. The ſavage never is in want; he lays in no ſtores, becauſe the earth and waters are reſervoirs to ſupply them. Fiſh and game are to be had all the year. The ſavage has no houſe to ſecure him from the inclemency of the external air, or commodious fire places, his furs anſwering all theſe purpoſes. His labor is but for his own benefit; he ſleeps when he is weary, and is a ſtranger to reſtleſs nights. Little does he experience wearineſs that ariſes from unſatisfied deſires, or that uneaſineſs of mind which ſprings from prejudice or vanity. As far as I can perceive, the Indian is ſubject to no evils but thoſe inflicted by nature.

In what manner then do we enjoy a greater happineſs? Our food may be more wholeſome and delicate, our cloaths may be ſofter, and our habitations ſecure us better againſt the weather; but then obſerve the common people, who are the ſupport

port of civil ſociety; the number of men who in all ſtates bear the burthen of labor; can they be ſaid to be happy, who, by the luxury and police of their governments, are reduced to a ſtate of ſervitude? And to what outrages are thoſe in a higher ſphere expoſed to? If you are poſſeſſed of any property, you know not how far it may be called your own, but muſt, in all probability, divide the produce between the lawyer, in teaching you how to preſerve it, and the collector, who comes to levy unlimited taxes. If you have no property, how can you be aſſured of a permanent ſubſiſtence? What induſtry or invention is ſecure againſt the viciſſitudes of fortune, or the encroachment of others.

In the foreſts of America, if there is any ſcarcity in the north, the ſavages bend their courſe to the ſouth; but in our civilized ſtates, we are confined within certain limits, where if famine, or war, or peſtilence, with

with all their concomitant horrors, ſhould befal us, all muſt participate.

It certainly is apparent to every one, that injuſtice prevails in the partial diſtribution of fortunes and ſtations, which muſt be the effect and the cauſe of oppreſſion. In vain does cuſtom, prejudice, ignorance, or hard labor, ſtupify thoſe of the lower claſs, ſo as to render them inſenſible of their degradation; it is not in the power of religion or morality to hinder them from ſeeing and feeling the arrangements of policy, in the diſtribution of what we call good and evil; and, no doubt, you muſt have often heard a poor man expoſtulating with heaven, "What have I done, that I ſhould deſerve to be born in ſuch an indigent and dependent ſituation?"

The reaſon we prefer our condition to that of the ſavages is, becauſe civilization has

has rendered us incapable of bearing ſome natural hardſhips, which they can endure; and ſimply that we are attached to ſome indulgence cuſtom has made neceſſary to us. As a proof of this aſſertion, and how a civilized man may habituate himſelf to the ſociety of ſavages, and return to this ſtate of nature, let me relate the ſituation of a Scotchman, who was caſt away upon the Iſland of *Fernandez*, where he lived alone; his only enjoyments conſiſted in ſupplying his wants, and to ſuch a pitch had his ideas of happineſs raiſed themſelves, that he forgot his country, his language, his name, and even the articulation of words. And after a baniſhment of four years, from the burthens of ſocial life, he had loſt all thought of the paſt, or anxiety for the future.

One of the firſt principles we imbibe, one of the firſt inſtincts of man, is a conſciouſneſs of independence; and no doubt

doubt but you muſt have obſerved, that the man who poſſeſſes a competent ſubſiſtence is incomparably happier than the rich man, who is reſtrained by prejudices and faſhions, which inceſſantly are reminding him of the loſs of his liberty, and which too frequently are the occaſion of the raſh and fatal act of ſuicide.

In comparing the ſtate of the ſavages to that of children, the queſtion may eaſily be decided, which has been ſo warmly in debate among the moſt learned men, "whether the ſtate of nature has the advantage over that of ſocial life?" And you, no doubt, will readily allow, that your ſtate of childhood, notwithſtanding the reſtraint of education, was the happieſt period of your life. Nothing ſurely can more clearly indicate the happineſs that children feel, than that habitual chearfulneſs they demonſtrate, when not under the ſchoolmaſter's rod.

After all, a ſingle word may determine this great queſtion. Let us aſk the civilized man if he is happy; and the ſavage whether he is unhappy? If they both anſwer in the negative, there is an end of the diſpute.

How mortifying muſt this parallel be to civilized nations? And the more painful the reflection, as it awakens the feelings to the cauſe of their ſufferings; no doubt but they will one time or other be convinced from whence it ariſes---from the confuſion of their opinions, from the defects of their political conſtitutions, and from the capriciouſneſs of their laws, which ever are in continual oppoſition to the laws of nature. But for fear you think I am growing too ſententious, I ſhall return to my deſcription of this province.

The

The woods of Canada abound with a large kind of rabbits, which are of a brown color in the ſummer, and turn white in the winter, one of the effects of the extreme cold or ſnow that prevails in this climate; we found likewiſe vaſt quantities of partridges, much larger than ours, which the Canadians call pheaſants; there are two ſorts of them, the ſpruce and the pine: the meat of the former is very delicious, to thoſe who are fond of the flavor of the ſpruce. The market at this place is well ſupplied with all kind of proviſion, fiſh and vegetables in abundance.

The place beſt adapted to repay the labours of the huſbandman, are pointed out to him by the ſpontaneous productions of nature; where the pine, the fir-tree, and the cedar grow ſolitarily, there he finds only watry and ſandy grounds: but wherever the ſoil is covered with maple, oak, beech, yoke, elm, hickory, and ſmall

cherry-trees, there he is certain to meet with a reward for his trouble of clearing away the woods, and may expect a great increase, without the difficulty of manuring.

Being informed that the pacquet sails this afternoon, and having several other letters to write, a further account of this province must be delayed till my next; and in hopes you will pardon my breaking off so abruptly, and leaving you in a state of suspence, I remain,

Yours, &c.

LET-

LETTER IX.

Quebec, November 5th, 1776.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

OBLIGED to conclude my laſt rather haſtily, I ſhall reſume my obſervations on this province, without any apology.

Moſt of the plantations in Canada are ſufficient to ſupply the wants of their reſpective owners, and there are few of them that do not yield rye, maize, barley, flax, hemp, tobacco, pulſe and pot-herbs, in great abundance, and thoſe of an excellent quality.

It is capable of furniſhing many articles for a trade with the Weſt Indies, which was wholly neglected, whilſt this province was under the French Government; but ſince in our poſſeſſion, great quantities of flour, planks, and timber, proper for building, have been exported to them: and as there is perhaps no country in the whole world which produces more ſorts of wood, or of a better quality, you may eaſily judge what immenſe riches may be drawn from thence, it conſiſting principally of woods.

I know not whether giving you an account of the extenſive foreſts of Canada, will afford you any entertainment; but when I inform you that they have the appearance of being as ancient as the world itſelf, and were never planted by the hand of man, I think you will find ſome amuſement in the deſcription of them.

On

On my firſt arrival in this country, I was ſtruck with the loftineſs of the pines, fir-trees, and cedars, which are of a ſize perfectly aſtoniſhing. There are two ſorts of pine, both of them yielding turpentine. The white pines produce, on their upper extremities a kind of muſhroom, which the Canadians adminiſter in caſes of the dyſentery. The red pines contain more turpentine, are heavier, and do not grow to ſuch a thickneſs; but where they flouriſh, the land is reckoned very good to raiſe corn.

There are ſeveral ſpecies of fir-trees, which riſe to a great height, are excellently calculated for maſts, as well as every ſort of carpenter's work.

There are two ſorts of cedars too, the white and red, the former of which grows the thickeſt, and the odour is in its leaves; whereas, in the latter, the odour is in the

wood, and far more agreeable. Of theſe trees the Canadians make palings, but moſtly ſhingles for covering their houſes, from its extreme lightneſs.

All over Canada are two ſorts of oak; the white grows in low ſwampy grounds, the red in dry ſandy lands.

There are three ſorts of walnuts; the hard, the ſoft, and another with a thin bark. The hard ſort bear a ſmall nut, very good to eat, but apt to occaſion coſtiveneſs, the wood of which is only fit to burn. The tender bears a large fruit, with a hard ſhell, the kernels of which are excellent: the wood of this tree is ſingularly curious, being almoſt incorruptible in water or in the ground, and difficult to conſume in the fire: of this wood the Canadians make their coffins. The third ſort produces a nut which is exceedingly bitter, but

but yields an excellent oil, uſed by the inhabitants for their lamps.

Beech and elm trees are in great abundance; and in the thickeſt woods are found vaſt numbers of cherry and plumb-trees.

There are an infinite number of others, but as I am no Botaniſt, you will pardon my giving an account of what is here in ſuch variety, that perſons who have taken the moſt unremitting pains to diſcover them, have not been capable of deſcribing half their number, I ſhall conclude this heavy detail of trees, with that of the maple, which boaſts of many excellent qualities.

The maple tree yields in great quantities a liquor which is cool and refreſhing, with an agreeable flavor. The Canadians make a ſugar of it, a very good pectoral, and uſed for coughs. There are many trees

trees that yield a liquor they can convert into ſugar, but none in ſuch abundance as the maple. You will no doubt be ſurprized to find, in Canada, what Virgil predicted of the Golden Age, *Et dura quercus ſudabunt roſcida mella.*

The ſtock of the farming part of the inhabitants in this province, conſiſts generally of about a ſcore or two of ſheep, ten or twelve cows, and five or ſix oxen for the plough; the cattle are ſmall but excellent, and the people, ſince they have been under the Engliſh Government, live in a degree of eaſe and happineſs unknown to the country people in England, and are now improving their farms and enriching themſelves very faſt. Before the commencement of the war, they uſed to export vaſt quantities of wheat and all ſorts of grain, to the other provinces and the Weſt India iſlands; but when under the French Government, they were ſo oppreſſed by their

Seigneurs,

Seigneurs, that they never raiſed more grain than would ſerve themſelves and the ſtock on their farms; whenever they did, it was generally claimed by the *Seigneurs* for the uſe of Government. The Canadians were at that time a very indolent ſet of people: now they reap the ſweets of their induſtry, and are quite the reverſe.

I went yeſterday to view the Fall of Montmorency, which is really beautiful. The breadth of it is not above ten or twelve yards, and its perpendicular height one hundred and twenty feet; by the violent fall of ſuch an immenſe body of water, there is always a thick fog of vapors, which occaſions a continual rain, for ſome diſtance round the bottom. Anxious to examine it as minutely as poſſible, I approached within twelve yards of the Fall, when a ſudden guſt of wind blew ſuch a thick fog off the ſpray, that in leſs than a minute I was as wet as if I had walked half

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an hour in a heavy ſhower, which, however, did not prevent my endeavouring to ſatisfy my curioſity, for I perſevered, in hopes of accompliſhing my wiſh, which, like many of our ardent purſuits, did not bring me that recompence I had flattered myſelf it would; for having obtained the purport of my intention, inſtead of the beautiful appearance I had pictured to my imagination, to be diſcerned between the rock and the immenſe body of water that was falling from ſuch a prodigious height, I found myſelf enveloped in a very thick fog of ſpray, ſcarcely able to ſee my hand when extended, and where, in all probability, if I had continued five minutes, and the wind changed, I was in danger of being drowned. The noiſe occaſioned by the fall was ſo great, that an officer who was with me was obliged to ſpeak as loud as he could, to make me underſtand any thing he ſaid. It is ſometimes heard at Quebec, which is two leagues diſtant to the ſouthward, and

when

when that is the caſe, it is the ſign of an approaching ſtrong north-eaſt wind.

One thing remarkable is, that this plentiful fall of water, which never dries up, one would imagine, muſt proceed from ſome fine river: but it is quite the reverſe, it being only a puny ſtream, which in ſome places is ſcarcely ſufficient to cover the ankle; it flows, however, conſtantly, and derives its ſource from a pleaſant lake, twelve leagues diſtant from the falls.

I have viſited the plains of Abraham, to ſee the remains of the enemy's encampment, and could not help contraſting thoſe who had ſo lately abandoned that place, with the poſſeſſors of it when the brave Wolfe fell! Nor was it poſſible to ſuppreſs a ſigh to the memory of that gallant officer, who, at ſo early a period in life, had acquired the eſteem and admiration of all mankind. While in the very arms of death,

he

added glory and conqueſt to the Britiſh empire.

Nor could I help lamenting, at the ſame time, the fate of an officer of conſiderable merit, though an enemy, the brave Montgomery, who commanded the troops that had ſo lately abandoned this encampment, and of whom I have already ſpoken: he poſſeſſed all the fire of military ardor, ruſhed with impatience in the front of every danger, and met his death, "e'en at the cannon's mouth," where he unfortunately fell a ſacrifice to miſtaken principles, unnatural rebellion, and the ambitious views of a few deſigning men.----His courage and death would have done honor to a better cauſe.

The people in this city are making preperations for the winter, and you would think it impoſſible they could conſume the amazing rafts of timber that are already floated

floated down the river; but I am informed they are a very inconſiderable part of what are expected.---It is not in the leaſt ſurprizing they were obliged to pull down houſes for fuel laſt winter, during the ſiege.

Europeans muſt form a terrible idea of the intenſe cold of this country, from the preparations the Canadians take to guard againſt it; for the inhabitants are paſting paper round their windows, and every crevice where they imagine the leaſt cold will penetrate.

Inſtead of fire-places they make uſe of iron ſtoves, which muſt be extremely unhealthy; a few days ſince I went into a room when there was a fire in one of them, and had not been there above five minutes, when I was ſeized with a moſt intolerable head-ach, which I can only attribute to the ſulphureous air that proceeds

ceeds from theſe ſtoves; and, for my own part, imagine they are the occaſion of the Canadians having ſuch ſallow complexions; but cuſtom, which in ſome meaſure overcomes all prejudices, will no doubt reconcile me to them.

The ſhips are all preparing to ſail for England, leſt the river ſhould freeze up.

I have been this afternoon upon the ramparts, to ſee the Apollo frigate drop down, in which General Burgoyne ſails for England; who, I am perſuaded, has the ſincere and ardent wiſhes of all ranks in the army, for his ſafety and happy arrival. The General joins to the dignity of office, and ſtrict attention to military diſcipline, that conſideration, humanity, and mildneſs of manners, which muſt ever endear him to all who have the happineſs to be under his command; for my own part, I ſhall pray with Shakeſpear, " that the

the winds of all the corners may kiſs the ſails, and make his veſſel proſperous."

I remained on the ramparts to take the laſt look of the Apollo, who, with a ſteady and favourable breeze, ſailed magnificently down the river, and was ſoon out of ſight. You cannot gueſs how it affected me; ſhall I confeſs that more than once I wiſhed myſelf on board her: it was ſuch a ſight as muſt awaken the mind to all its natural attachments. But that I may not think too much of country and friends, at this time, I ſhall haſtily conclude myſelf,

Yours, &c.

LETTER X.

Montreal, November 16th, 1776.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

AFTER a tedious march of near three weeks, which for a young ſoldier is a pretty good initiation into the toils of his profeſſion, I am ſafe arrived at this place.

As we could not march many miles in a day, through the ſeverity of the weather, bad roads, and the ſhortneſs of the days, I am enabled to give you ſome little deſcription of the country between this city and Quebec.

Both

Both ſides of the river are very well ſettled, which affords a pleaſing proſpect. The farms moſtly lie cloſe to the water-ſide, and at ſome diſtance from each other, ſo that each farmer has his poſſeſſions entirely diſtinct from thoſe of his neighbour's. But had an edict, which was paſſed in the year 1745, when this province was under the French Government, been obſerved, it would have been one continued ſtreet from Quebec to this place, as it forbade the Canadians from extending their plantations more than an acre and a half in front, and thirty or forty acres in depth; by which means indolent heirs would not have waited for the inheritance of their fathers, as they would have been under the neceſſity of forming new plantations, and ſuch vaſt ſpaces of wood would no longer have ſeparated them from each other.

But whether that indolence they then poſſeſſed proceeded from nature, or the rigor of their Government, they ſeem now to have entirely loſt it, and are become more induſtrious; as I perceived, in many places, they were clearing away the woods to form new plantations.

Moſt of the farm houſes are built of ſtone, conſiſting of three or four rooms, which are heated with a ſtove, nearly upon the ſame conſtruction as thoſe I deſcribed to you. Some of them have orchards annexed, though in general they are without ſuch an accommodation, but all have exceeding good kitchen gardens.

Every three leagues there is a church, with a kind of little village, conſiſting of the parſonage, the *auberge*, the ſchool for boys and girls, and a few houſes belonging to tradeſmen, thoſe but few indeed,

and

and ſo thinly ſcattered, that it ſcarcely gives you the idea of a village. Trade is conſidered by any deſcendant of the *nobleſſe* a diſgrace, yet there are few inhabitants but what claim ſome affinity to one *Seigneur* or another, who, though they think it no derogation to plough, ſow, and reap upon their plantations, deem it ignominious in the extreme, to be a mechanic or tradeſman. Notwithſtanding which, I was much ſurprized to find, that the principal inhabitant in each village, who generally belongs to ſome *nobleſſe*, was the poſt-maſter, and kept the only *Auberge* in the place; nay, did not think his nobility offended, with providing horſes and entertaining travellers, which I remember to have heard you ſay is the caſe in many parts of Italy.

Between each church, or village, there are ſeveral croſſes put up on the road-ſide, parallel to the ſhores of the river, and

which are common throughout Canada. They are made of wood, about fifteen or twenty feet high, and proportionably broad: In that ſide towards the road is a ſquare hole, in which they place ſome wax images, either of our Saviour on the croſs, or of the holy Virgin, with the child in her arms, and before that, a piece of glaſs to prevent its being injured by the weather. Theſe croſſes are ornamented with all the inſtruments they think the Jews employed in crucifying our Saviour, ſuch as the hammer, tongs, nails, a flaſk of vinegar, with many more things than one would ſuppoſe were really made uſe of, or even invented; and frequently the figure of a cock is placed at the top, which appeared to me rather ſingular, as it could have not the leaſt affinity to the crucifixion, and muſt rather be ſuppoſed an alluſion to the cock's crowing when St. Peter denied our Saviour.

Theſe

Theſe croſſes, however good the intention of erecting them may be, are continually the cauſes of great delays in travelling, which to perſons not quite ſo ſuperſtitiouſly diſpoſed as the Canadians, are exceedingly unpleaſant in cold weather; for whenever the drivers of the calaſhes, which are open, and nearly ſimilar to your one horſe chaiſes, come to one of them, they alight, either from their horſes or carriage, fall on their knees, and repeat a long prayer, let the weather be ever ſo ſevere.

The uſual mode of travelling is in theſe calaſhes: in the front of thoſe which travel poſt, a man ſits to drive, and who, let your buſineſs be of ever ſo great importance, will alight at theſe croſſes, and pay his accuſtomed homage.

One day, on our march, being ſent forward to procure quarters, with our friend

Captain Grattan, whoſe pleaſantry of manners you are well acquainted with; for expedition we went in a poſt-calaſh. The weather was ſo exceſſively ſevere, that with the aſſiſtance of fur coverings, we could ſcarcely keep ourſelves warm. Not above a mile had been beguiled, before we came to one of theſe croſſes, when the fellow who drove us ſtopped; upon aſking him why he did ſo, he replied, *Ce n'eſt que pour faire une petite prière*; which *petite prière* he was nearly five minutes in repeating, when he mounted his ſeat. We complained of being almoſt periſhed with cold, when he replied, *Allons, allons, je vais me depêcher*, and after taking two or three whiffs of his pipe, whipped up his horſes, and made amends for his ſtopping. We had not gone a mile and a half further, before another croſs made its unwelcome appearance: here he muſt alight, and *faire une autre petite prière*, which, upon our not conſenting to, he begged we would let him

juſt

juſt ſtop, *le tems de faire un ſigne de croix*, which he was not long about. We then jogged on again with great chearfulneſs, as he drove pretty faſt; ſoon after we perceived the village to which we were deſtined for quarters, when again he ſuddenly ſtopt, and upon our ſaying there was no croſs there, he immediately cried out, *Mais en voici une la*, which, being at ſome diſtance from the road, we had not obſerved, requeſting us to let him halt but a moment: *Il faut que je deſcende ici; c'eſt mon village*; we told him he ſhould not, and that he muſt drive into the village as faſt as he could. Upon this he growled inwardly, and complained openly, till he came oppoſite to it, where he ſtopped again; before he could deſcend, our friend Grattan laid hold of his long queue, of which I told you they are exceedingly proud, and declared, if he did not immediately drive on, he would inſtantly cut it off.---- This being aſſerted with ſome degree of warmth,

warmth, he thought fit to ſacrifice his religion to his vanity, ſo juſt croſſing himſelf, muttered a ſhort prayer, and drove us as faſt as he could to the end of our journey, *ſacrant contre* the Engliſh officers; and I do not doubt, if one could form any idea from his countenance, but he ſent us both into purgatory with ſuch curſes, that all the maſſes which could be offered would not be able to releaſe us from it, for having treated his religion and his queue with ſo little ceremony.

Leaving you to make your own reflections on theſe Canadians and their religion, I remain,

Yours, &c.

LET-

LETTER XI.

Montreal, Nov. 20th, 1776.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

I SHALL now proceed with my obſervations, and the remainder of the occurrences which happened in our march from Quebec to this place.

About half way between Quebec and Montreal, is a town called *Trois Rivieres*; it takes its name from three rivers, whoſe currents join here, and fall into the river St. Laurence. Previous to my giving you any deſcription of this place, permit me to relate a trifling circumſtance that occurred, juſt

juſt as we entered the town. About half a mile before we came to it, ſo ſudden and nauſeous a ſcent aſſailed our olfactory nerves, as nearly to ſuffocate us, which laſted till we arrived at the outſkirts.--- Upon enquiry, we found it aroſe from an animal, which the Canadians call the *Enfant du Diable*, or *bête puante*; a title which it derives from its ill ſcent, occaſioned by diſcharging his urine whenever he is attacked, and which infects the air for a great diſtance. Laying aſide this quality, it is in other reſpects a beautiful creature, being about the ſize of a cat, with a fine ſhining fur, of a dark grey color, ſtreaks of white gliſtening from the head to the tail, which is buſhy, like that of a fox, and turned up as a ſquirrel's: this had been purſued by ſome dogs which the ſoldiers had with them, acroſs the road, but when it came near us, its ſtench was almoſt inſupportable.

Theſe

Theſe *Enfant du Diable* differ from your *Enfant du Diable*, the London beaux, who have all their prettyiſms perhaps, but are *eternally* exhaling their peſtiferous odours, fearful, if they reſerved them till *purſued*, they would have no opportunity to

"Taint the flying air, and ſtink in ſtate."

The country is pleaſant, and there are ſeveral good houſes about the town, but they were greatly damaged by the Americans, upon abandoning it, after their defeat this ſummer, when their army was routed, and ſeveral of their Generals, with great numbers of their men, taken priſoners. This place is the winter cantonments of the German troops, who are commanded by General Reideſel; he commands likewiſe the diſtrict between Quebec and Montreal.

This town, by reaſon of the three rivers, uſed to be much frequented by the ſeveral nations

nations of Indians, and was built with a view of encouraging trade with the northern ones in particular. It had every proſpect of being the ſecond city in the province, but the fur trade was ſoon diverted from this market, and carried entirely to Montreal, it being ſome leagues nearer to the Indians; and though we have ſeveral trading places with them upon the lakes Ontario and Superior, Montreal will always ſupport its conſequence, as being the neareſt and moſt convenient place for ſhipping the furs to England. *Trois Rivieres* has now loſt all its traffic and is ſupported chiefly by the travellers paſſing between the two cities.

There are ſeveral churches, and two convents, the nuns of which are reckoned the moſt ingenious of any in Canada, in all kinds of fancy ornaments, needle work, and curious toys.

During

During my ſtay at *Trois Rivieres*, there came down from the *Illinois*, ſeveral Indians of that nation, with an interpreter, to acquaint us, that they would be down in the ſpring, and would take up the hatchet in favor of "*their good Brother who reſided beyond the great waters.*" Among the groupe I obſerved one, who had hanging round his neck the image of the holy Virgin, with our Saviour in her arms, which I thought very ſingular, as he was of a nation eſteemed extremely ferocious in their manner, and whom the French Miſſionaries could not convert; but upon my enquiring of the interpreter if he knew the reaſon, he gave me the following account:

In ſome ſkimirſh, when the *Illinois* were at war with the Canadians, this image had fallen into their hands, amongſt other plunder. Sometime afterwards as a Miſſionary, of which the French had great numbers

numbers travelling through the interior parts of Canada, to cultivate friendſhip, and eſtabliſh their religion among the Indians; by chance he met this perſon, and obſerving the image, was very much aſtoniſhed; the manner in which he took notice of it, excited the curioſity of the poor ſavage, to know what it repreſented, when the Miſſionary, who no doubt was pleaſed to have ſuch an opportunity of diſplaying his religion, told him, that it repreſented the mother of his God, and that the child ſhe held in her arms repreſented God himſelf, who had made himſelf man for the ſalvation of the human ſpecies, and explaining to him the myſtery of our incarnation, aſſuring him, that in all dangers the Chriſtians addreſſed themſelves to this holy mother, who ſeldom failed to extricate them. The Indian liſtened with the utmoſt attention to this diſcourſe, and went away.

Some-

Being out a hunting, ſoon after this, juſt as he had diſcharged his piece at a deer, one of the *Outagami* Indians, whoſe nation was at variance with the *Illinois*, and who was lying in ambuſh, preſented his piece at his head. In this ſituation he recollected what had been told him about the mother of God, and invoked her protection. The *Outagami* endeavoured to diſcharge his piece, but miſſed; he cocked a ſecond time, and the ſame thing happened five times ſucceſſively. In the interim the *Illinois* had loaded his piece, and preſented it to the *Outagami*, who choſe rather to ſurrender than be ſhot. From that time the *Illinois* would never ſtir from his village without his ſafeguard, which he imagines renders him invulnerable. There can remain little doubt but this circumſtance was the means of his converſion to Chriſtianity, and the Romiſh religion: for he has certainly embraced that perſuaſion, as I followed him to the

great church, where, upon his entrance, after croſſing himſelf with the holy water, he fell upon his knees, and ſeemed to worſhip with as much devotion as the moſt devout of the Canadians. But to return to my deſcription of this place.

The road from Quebec hither is the whole way within ſight of the river, being moſtly upon its banks, which renders it extremely pleaſant to travellers, eſpecially in the ſummer, as there is a conſtant breeze.

The river from Quebec to *Trois Rivieres* is very wide, and at that place it forms a very large lake, called *St. Pierre*, where the eye cannot reach acroſs; you can only diſcern a large body of water, with ſeveral iſlands, which, with the ſmall veſſels ſailing between them, form a very romantic proſpect. The tide comes no farther than this lake, terminating a few leagues beyond

beyond *Trois Rivieres*, when you meet with the river again, where it runs extremely rapid, at the rate of ſeven or eight miles an hour. At its firſt appearance you can hardly ſuppoſe it the ſame river, for where the tide has effect, it ſeldom runs more than four miles an hour; it increaſes in rapidity as you advance to Montreal, and oppoſite the city it runs almoſt ten miles an hour, which renders its navigation extremely difficult, as nothing but a very ſtrong and favourable wind, with all the ſails full ſet, can enable veſſels to ſtem the current. What with unfavourable winds and light breezes, ſhips have been as long in getting up from *Trois Rivieres* to Montreal, as they were on their paſſage from England to Quebec.

The rapidity of the current makes croſſing not only diſagreeable, but very dangerous, for unleſs you have a ſkilful pilot, the current will carry you a league below

where you want to land. And yet it is ſurprizing, how expert the Canadians are with their wooden canoes; but the Indians far exeeed them in working theirs, as their canoes are of a much lighter conſtruction. Both being much uſed in this country, I ſhall endeavour to deſcribe them, that you may be able to form ſome idea of what they are.

Thoſe which the Canadians uſe, are called wooden ones, being hollowed out of the red elm, ſome of which are ſo large, as to contain twenty perſons.

Thoſe which the Indians uſe, are made of the bark of the birch tree, and diſtinguiſhed by the name of birch canoes, the different parts of which they ſew together with the inner rind of the bark of the tree, and daub them over with a pitch, or rather a bituminous matter, reſembling pitch, to prevent their leaking. They form the ribs from

from the boughs of the hickory tree, and are conſtructed of different dimenſions, ſome being only large enough to contain two perſons, and others thirty.

Theſe canoes are eaſily managed by the Indians with their paddles, and with the current go at a prodigious rate, for one ſingle ſtroke with the paddle will force them twice the length of the canoe againſt it. It was with one of theſe birch canoes that General Carleton, with an Aid-de-Camp, made their eſcape through the enemy's fleet, when he quitted Montreal, for the purpoſe of putting Quebec in a better ſtate of defence.

Unwilling to loſe the opportunity of ſending this by an officer who is going to Quebec, I am obliged to put a period to this letter: and, no doubt, upon the peruſal of it, you will eaſily diſcover the young traveller,

veller, who is diverted with every thing that preſents itſelf to his view. But in hopes that it may afford you half an hour's amuſement, I remain,

Yours, &c.

LET-

LETTER XII.

Montreal, November 26th, 1776.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

BEFORE I describe to you this city, let me give you some account of the island on which it stands, and from whence it derives its name.

This island, which measures, ten leagues in length and about four in breadth, is formed by the river St. Laurence, and in the center of it are two large mountains, which are the first you meet with on the north side of St. Laurence, and were called by the first discoverers of this province,

Monts Royaux, which gave name to the iſland, afterwards *Mont Royal*, and at laſt, by a variety of corruptions of the language, *Montreal*.

Of all the adjacent countries, there is no place where the climate is reckoned to be ſo mild, ſo pleaſant, and the ſoil ſo fruitful: with all theſe natural bleſſings, is it not ſurprizing to ſee it thinly inhabited, and very ill ſettled, for except two or three miles round the city, the country is moſtly woods, interſperſed with a few ſmall plantations.

One thing not a little remarkable is, that this iſland contains a ſmaller one of about three miles in length, and two and a half in breadth, formed by two inlets of St. Laurence. This little iſland, which is called the *Iſle de Jeſus*, is almoſt cleared from woods, and has a ſmall church and a few houſes on it, rendering Mon-

treal

treal extremely pleaſant; being ſo ſituated, that you cannot go a great length in any direction, before you come to it; and ſurely, after travelling through woods and ſwamps, it affords a moſt pleaſing relief.

The ſummit of the mountains I have deſcribed to you are extremely difficult to gain; but having once accompliſhed it, the delightful proſpect that preſents itſelf, amply compenſates for the fatigue and dangers you encounter, being able to view the whole iſland, and ſeveral leagues round it. You can plainly diſcern the mountains that croſs *Lake Champlain*, called the Green Mountains, which are near 60 miles diſtant. It appears generally a vaſt foreſt, there being only three objects to diverſify the ſcene: the view of the city of Montreal, the river St. Laurence, and the mountains of *Chamblée*, which are exceedingly beautiful, and the more remarkable, being in a plain level country, and not

not having a ſingle hill for ſeveral leagues round them; they are conſiderably loftier than the mountains on this iſland.

This city forms an oblong ſquare, divided by regular, well formed ſtreets, and the houſes in general are well built; there are ſeveral churches, but thoſe, as well as many of the houſes have felt the effects of this war.

The city is ſurrounded by a wall and dry ditch, and at one end there is a citadel. Theſe fortifications were raiſed many years paſt, as a defence againſt the Indians, and ſince the war, great improvements have been made to them; but the city is ſo ſituated, that no works can be raiſed to enabled it to ſtand a regular ſiege, having many riſing grounds, that command it in more places than one.

When

When we gained poſſeſſion of this province, Montreal was nearly as large as Quebec, but ſince that time it has ſuffered much by fire; it is greatly to be wondered at, that it has not, one time or other, been totally deſtroyed: for in the winter, when the inhabitants go to bed, they make great fires in their ſtoves, and leave them burning all night, by which means they are frequently red hot before morning. Imagine how very dangerous they muſt have been, when their houſes were conſtructed of wood; few of thoſe are now remaining, except in the outſkirts of the city, the greateſt part of them being built of ſtone.

The inhabitants here, as well as thoſe of Quebec, having ſo many times ſuffered by fire, conſtruct their buildings in ſuch a manner, that they are not only perfectly ſecure againſt that element, but even againſt houſe-breakers, which being a little ſingular,

ſingular, you will have no objection to my deſcribing them.

The houſe conſiſts of one lofty floor, built with ſtone, and the apartments are divided by ſuch thick walls, that ſhould a fire happen in one of them, it cannot communicate to any other: the top of the houſe being covered with a ſtrong arch, if the roof which is over it ſhould catch fire, it cannot damage the interior part of the houſe. At Quebec, that city having been ſo often beſieged, the inhabitants who are now building at that place, make this arch bomb-proof.

Each apartment has a double door, the inner one of wood, and the outer one of iron, which is only ſhut when the family retire to reſt; the windows have double ſhutters of the ſame materials, and have not only taken this precaution with the doors that lead out of the houſe, but added

added an iron one, which is fixed on the inſide.

Theſe doors and ſhutters are made of plate iron, near half an inch thick, which, perhaps, you will imagine, muſt give the houſe a very diſagreeable appearance, but it is far otherwiſe, for being moſtly painted green, they afford a pleaſing contraſt to the whiteneſs of the houſe.

This is the buſy time of the merchants belonging to this place, who are now uſing all poſſible expedition in ſending home their furs, before the winter ſets in. The reaſon aſſigned for deferring it till ſo late in the ſeaſon, is on account of the traders, ſome of whom are but juſt arrived from the upper countries, the merchants generally waiting as long as there is a poſſibility of their return, and ſometimes ſo long in expectation of them, as to loſe their markets entirely.

Theſe

Theſe traders, in the courſe of their voyages, are continually encountering hardſhips and difficulties, and their lives are frequently in imminent danger:----- nothing can counterbalance the great perils that await them, but the certainty of acquiring an ample fortune in the courſe of three or four voyages.

They ſet out in the ſpring of the year, in parties of about twenty or thirty perſons, with perhaps eight or ten large birch canoes; they have no fixed courſe to take, but ſteer that where it is imagined they can meet with a tribe of Indians; keeping moſtly upon the upper lakes, ſometimes carrying their goods and canoes acroſs rapids, which are parts of the river greatly quickened by the deſcents, and over land to a river, up which they will proceed many leagues. If they do not meet with any Indians, it obliges them to return again to the lake, and proceed weſtward.

The

The goods they take with them to barter for ſkins, conſiſt chiefly of brandy, tobacco, a ſort of duffil blanket, guns, powder and balls, kettles, hatchets and tomahawks, as likewiſe looking-glaſſes, vermillion and various other paints; and according to any article that an Indian has a deſire or an uſe for, he will give ten times its value in ſkins. They are moſt eager after powder, ball, paint, brandy and tobacco.

Theſe traders traverſe vaſt lakes and rivers with incredible induſtry and patience, carrying their goods among nations in the remoteſt parts of America. They are generally abſent from their families about three years, before their departure make a will, and ſettle all their affairs, many of them, with their whole party, having been put to death by the Indians, either for the ſtores they carry with them, or to revenge the death of ſome

of

of their nation, who has been killed by the burſting of a gun that has been ſold to them, which is frequently the caſe, they being by no means proof. The Indians do not wait for thoſe traders who ſold the gun, but take their revenge upon the firſt they meet with. Here I muſt obſerve to you, that the guns which are ſold to the Indians are fitted up in a very neat manner, to attract the notice of theſe poor creatures, and frequently, after having been fired five or ſix times, they burſt, and the unfortunate purchaſer is either killed, or loſes an hand or an arm. Theſe traders are certainly the beſt judges, but I cannot help thinking it both cruel and impolitic.

It having been hinted, that a reward would be given to him who ſhould diſcover a north-weſt paſſage, or whether the Continent joins to India, two ſuppoſitions much credited by the Europeans in general; ſeveral of the traders have endeavoured to find

find which is the true one: as there is every year ſome freſh diſcovery made, there remains but little doubt that in ſome future time it will be effected. I believe the fartheſt that any of them have yet reached was a Mr. Henry, who is reported to have travelled for ten days upon a large plain, on which grew only a rank-graſs, nearly as high as a man's breaſt, and on this plain he frequently met with immenſe droves of buffaloes, and obſerved the tracks of ſeveral others; that on the eleventh day he came to a vaſt river, which ſtopped his progreſs, as he did not chuſe to venture croſſing in a canoe; that the water was quite ſalt, and run extremely rapid, from which circumſtance he concluded there muſt be a north-weſt paſſage.

Whether it is ſo or not, it is to be hoped that when this unhappy conteſt is ended, Government may think it a matter worthy their conſideration, and fit out an expedi-

tion for aſcertaining it, as the diſcovery would not only be of great importance to England, but to all the world. As we have already made ſuch great and wonderful diſcoveries in the South Seas, ſurely this will be deemed of ſufficient importance to juſtify the expence of fitting out proper perſons from England to inveſtigate the fact.

If after ſo many fruitleſs attempts, ſome one ſhould appear, whoſe firm mind will riſe ſuperior to every ſenſe of danger, encountering variety of hardſhips, and whoſe patience is not exhauſted by their duration; if ſuch a one, animated with a hope of glory, which alone teaches men to diſregard life, rendering them equal to the greateſt undertakings; who, being well informed, ſo as to underſtand what he ſees, and of veracity enough to relate only what he has ſeen---if ſuch a man ſhould appear, and no doubt there are many who poſſeſs

theſe

theſe excellent and extraordinary qualifications, his reſearches will perhaps be crowned with better ſucceſs. But, if after ſuch an undertaking, this celebrated paſſage ſhould ſtill remain concealed, it muſt be concluded, either that it doth not exiſt, or is not given to man to diſcover.

I add nothing more to this letter, fearful of loſing its conveyance, therefore remain

Yours, &c.

LETTER XIII.

Montreal, Nov. 30th, 1776.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

A FEW days ago, I made a viſit to our friend Shlagell of the 21ſt regiment, at St. John's, where he is ſtationed for the winter. I cannot but ſay I was much pleaſed with the place, it having all the appearance of a dock-yard, and of being equally as buſy. The fleet that was upon the Lake is repairing, as likewiſe ſeveral of the veſſels that we took from the Americans; they are laid up in docks, to preſerve them from the inclemencies of the winter, and by the enſuing ſpring, what with the ſhips

ſhips we had before, and thoſe we have ſince taken from the Americans, we ſhall have a fleet far ſuperior to any they can poſſibly bring on the Lakes.

There are two ſchooners here, the *Carleton* and *Maria*, which were built in England upon a conſtruction to take into pieces, in order to be tranſported acroſs a carrying-place of about two miles. After their ſailing from England to the mouth of the rapids, which prevented their proceeding up to St. John's, rather than loſe the time of taking them to pieces, and re-conſtructing them, Lieutenant Schank, of the navy, an ingenious officer, informed General Carleton, that they might be conveyed upon a cradle over land to St. John's, entire, provided there was a good road made for them. The General acquieſced in this gentleman's propoſal, and the whole army were employed in making a road. One of the veſſels was near half a mile on it, by

means of cables fixed to windlaſſes every twenty yards; but the General perceiving this mode of conveyance would take up more time than the other, gave orders to have the ſchooners taken to pieces and re-built, which was accompliſhed in as ſhort a ſpace of time as they had been creeping that ſmall diſtance upon land.

Our naval force being far inferior to what the Americans had this ſummer upon the Lakes, it was deemed neceſſary to encreaſe it. The ſhip-wrights were inſtantly employed to build a frigate, and the army in cutting the timber for it, which is now as complete a veſſel as any in the King's ſervice. I am afraid you will think I uſurp the privilege of a traveller, when I tell you that this frigate was conſtructed in ſo ſhort a time, that in eight and twenty days after her keel was laid ſhe was in action; and what was ſtill more wonderful, there were only ſixteen ſhip-wrights to build her, one

of

of whom was, on the third day, ſo badly wounded with an adze, as to be of little ſervice.

You may eaſily imagine how great muſt have been the aſtoniſhment of the Americans when ſhe came upon the Lakes, knowing we had no ſuch ſhip when they abandoned St. John's. Notwithſtanding this, they fought their fleet bravely, and our new-built veſſel, by the falling of the wind, bore but a partial part of the engagement, the ſtreſs laying upon the *Carleton* and *Maria* ſchooners, which were both much ſhattered. On board the latter was General Carleton, who had a very narrow eſcape, a cannon ſhot paſſing cloſe by him as he was giving directions to an officer, and which the General with that coolneſs and intrepidity that ſo much diſtinguiſhes his character, took no notice of, but turning round, gave his orders with as much

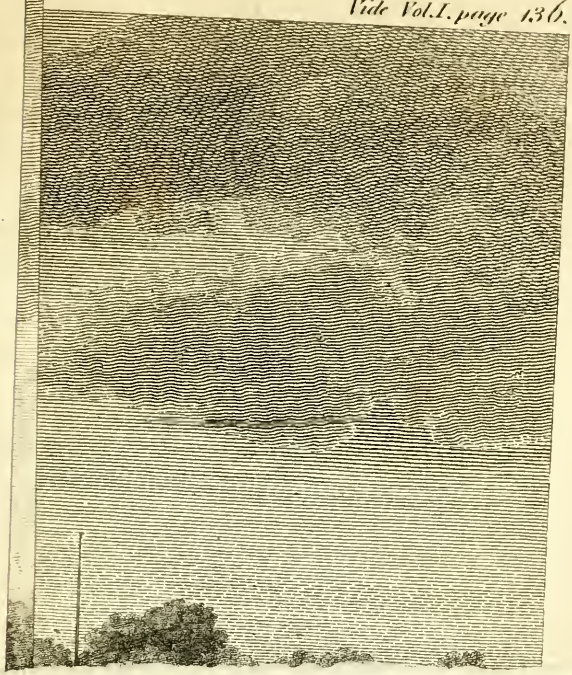
compoſure as if he had been in the moſt perfect ſtate of ſecurity.

This place, which is called the key to Canada, when the works are compleated, will be of great ſtrength; there are temporary barracks at preſent, both for ſoldiers and artificers. The old barracks, as well as the fort the Americans deſtroyed when they abandoned the place, were formerly quite ſurrounded with woods, but are now clear for ſome diſtance round.

In order that you may form a juſt idea of this important place, I have encloſed you a drawing of it, repreſenting the two redoubts, with the rope-walk, the ſhip on the ſtocks, and the other veſſels at anchor near the fort, and which I have taken from the block-houſe erected on the oppoſite ſide of the river Sorell.

From

Vide Vol. I. page 136.



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From

Vide Vol.I. page 136.

A View of St.ᵗ JOHN'S, upon the RIVER SOREL, in CANADA, with the Redoubts, Works, &c.ᵃ
Taken in the Year 1776, during the late War in America.

Published as the Acts direct, Jan.ʸ 1.ˢᵗ 1789, by William Jane Leadenhall Street, London.

From this place I went to the *Iſle au Noix*, which is the advanced poſt of the army, on which the 20th regiment is ſtationed. This iſland is about a mile and a half in length, and three quarters of a mile in breadth; it was entirely covered with wood, but at preſent greatly cleared, and before the winter is over, we imagine it will be entirely ſo. Although ſo late in the year, and in this ſevere climate, the regiment ſtationed there is encamped, and likely to continue ſo till after Chriſtmas, as it will be that time before the block-houſes intended for them are finiſhed.

Block-houſes not being generally known in England, ſhall be my apology for giving you a deſcription of them. They are conſtructed of timbers, placed one on the other, of a ſufficient thickneſs to reſiſt a muſquet ſhot, and large enough to contain from 100 to 120 men; there are two apartments in them, one above the other,

in

the upper of which is a diviſion for the officers. In both the lower and upper apartments are two pieces of cannon and four port-holes, for the purpoſe of pointing theſe cannon on any ſide of the block-houſe on which it may be attacked; and in caſe an enemy ſhould in the night endeavour to ſet fire to the houſe, there are loop-holes, through which the troops on the inſide can level their pieces and fire upon the aſſailants. They are reckoned to be a very ſtrong defence, as it has been known that a ſmall party of men, in one of theſe block-houſes, have repulſed treble their own number. But that you may more fully comprehend the conſtruction of theſe unuſual fortifications, I have incloſed a drawing and ſection of one of them for your inſpection.

The ſoldiers, not only at the *Iſle au Noix*, but likewiſe at St. John's, have been very ſubject to the ſcurvy, not having any other

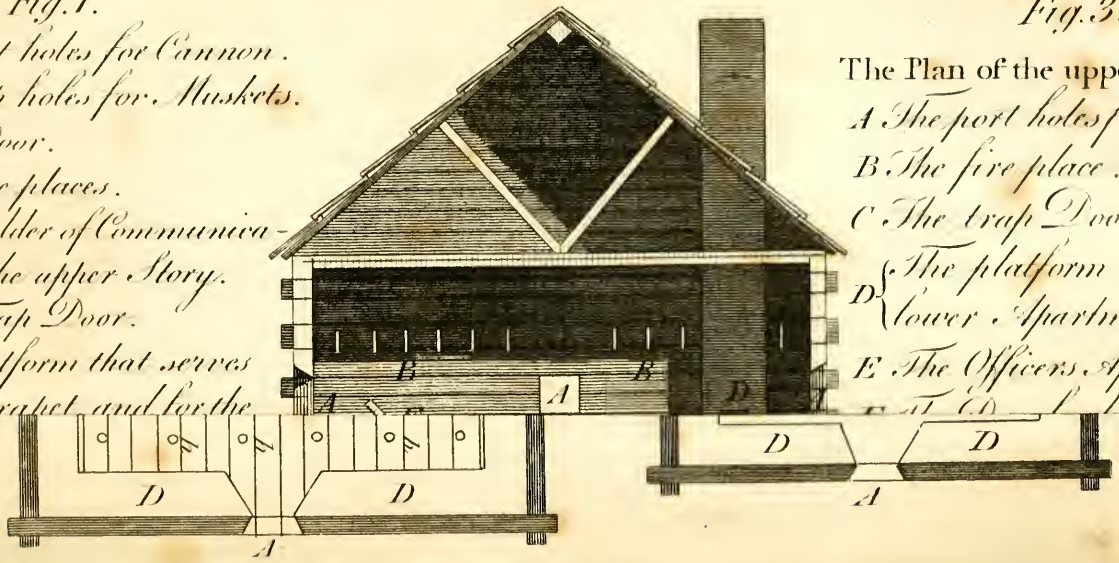
The Section and Plan of a Block-house.

REFERENCE.

Fig. 1.

The Port holes for Cannon.
The loop holes for Muskets.
The Door.
The fire places.
The Ladder of Communication to the upper Story.
The Trap Door.
The platform that serves as a parapet and for the

Fig. 1.



Scale of Feet.

REFEREN

Fig. 3.

The Plan of the upper S

A The port holes for
B The fire place.
C The trap Door.
D The platform as
lower Apartmen
E The Officers Apa

the upper of which is a diviſion for the officers. In both the lower and upper apartments are two pieces of cannon and four port-holes, for the purpoſe of pointing theſe cannon on any ſide of the block-houſe on which it may be attacked; and in caſe an enemy ſhould in the night endeavour to ſet fire to the houſe, there are loop-holes, through which the troops on the inſide can level their pieces and fire upon the aſſailants. They are reckoned to be a very ſtrong defence, as it has been known that a ſmall party of men, in one of theſe block-houſes, have repulſed treble their own number. But that you may more fully comprehend the conſtruction of theſe unuſual fortifications, I have incloſed a drawing and ſection of one of them for your inſpection.

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The Section and Plan of a Blockhouse.

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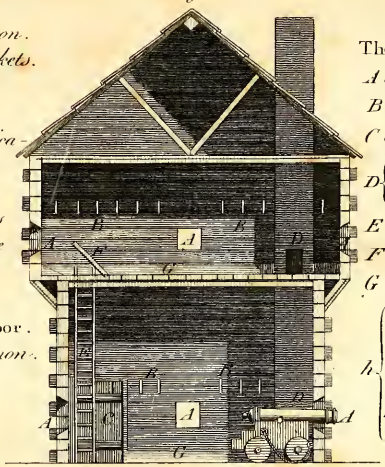
Fig. 1.

A The Port holes for Cannon.
B The loop holes for Muskets.
C The Door.
D The fire places.
E { The Ladder of Communication to the upper Story.
F The Trap Door.
G { The platform that serves as a parapet, and for the Men to sleep on.

Fig. 2.

The Plan of the Ground Floor.
A The Port holes for Cannon.
B The fire place.
C The Door.
D The platforms.

Fig. 1.



REFERENCE.

Fig. 3.

The Plan of the upper Story.
A The port holes for Cannon.
B The fire place.
C The trap Door.
D { The platform as in the lower Apartment.
E The Officers Apartment.
F The Door leading to it.
G The Window.
h { Holes made in the floor to fire upon the Enemy if they gain possession of the lower Apartment.

Fig. 3.

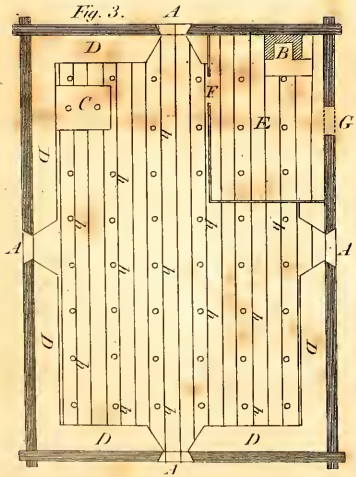


Fig. 2.

Scale of Feet.

other than ſalt proviſions, but by drinking plentifully of ſpruce beer, they are now all in perfect health, which clearly proves that liquor to be a powerful antiſcorbutic. It is ſo much known in England, as to need no deſcription; the only difference between the ſpruce there and here is, that here it is made with the branches of the tree itſelf, and there with the eſſence.

As the ſeverity of the weather ſhuts up all intercourſe by letters, this is the laſt you may expect to receive from me till the froſt breaks up. But though I cannot write to you, be aſſured I ſhall continually think of you, and remain, with the greateſt eſteem and ſincerity,

Yours, &c.

LET-

LETTER XIV.

Montreal, January 18th, 1777.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

I DID not expect to have written so soon, but an opportunity of a flag of truce, which is going by the way of Ticonderoga to New-York, unexpectedly occurring, I am happy to embrace it, especially when it is impossible for me to employ my leisure hours more satisfactory to myself, than in endeavouring to divert you. I shall therefore proceed to give you some account of the winter amusements of this place, and among the principal ones is that of carioling upon the ice, the inhabitants making

making large parties every day for that purpoſe; they generally go to *Point aux Trembles*, about three leagues from this city, at which place reſides a Dutch woman, who makes moſt excellent ſauſages, and at whoſe houſe it is cuſtomary to refreſh with theſe and bottled porter. As the north wind generally blows very ſharp, you acquire a pretty good appetite, and, for my own part, I enjoyed this *petite repas* in preference to my dinner, very few regimental meſſes being conducted with that propriety and decorum which ſhould characterize the profeſſion, as there are generally among them a ſet of ungovernable young men. But to return to my deſcription of carioling.

You will no doubt think it too much to go nine miles and back again for a jaunt before dinner; but this mode of travelling is ſo very expeditious, that moſt of the inhabitants defer their journey to Quebec till

till this ſeaſon of the year, as they can perform it with leſs difficulty, and much greater expedition.

The carioles are faſhioned after different devices, to imitate birds and beaſts, but in general they are of one conſtruction, with only this difference, that the common people have theirs cloſe upon the ice or ſnow, while thoſe of their ſuperiors are raiſed upon what are called runners, which elevate them about two feet. They paint them of various fantaſtical colors; many of them, as a contraſt to this ſeaſon of the year, are colored in imitation of thunder and lightning. It is certainly a very eaſy and expeditious method of travelling, for the horſes of the country will go with eaſe fifteen miles an hour upon the ice. The inhabitants think nothing of a journey of forty or fifty miles to ſee a friend, and returning the ſame day.

Not-

Notwithſtanding the river runs ſo rapid as I have before deſcribed, and is now entirely frozen over, yet there are certain warm ſprings that never will congeal; to caution travellers, every pariſh, as ſoon as the river is frozen over, is obliged to fix large pine trees in the ice, diſtant from each other about ten feet, which receiving moiſture from the ice, and being an evergreen, continue ſo the whole winter, ſo that when travelling, it appears as if you were going between an avenue of firs.

On each ſide of the river it is quite ſmooth, but in the center, where the current runs ſo rapid, the ice is thrown up in prodigious hills, through which the inhabitants are obliged to cut a paſſage to croſs the river; the ſides are frozen ſo as to bear carriages, long before the center, and when that freezes, no thunder can equal the noiſe, the reaſon of which you will eaſily imagine, for where theſe rapids are, the

ice

ice is thrown up in a continual ſucceſſion of hills; between theſe hills, you are ſurrounded with ice ſeveral yards high, and there it is inconceivably cold; when upon the top of one of theſe hills, you cannot help ſtopping to view the many curious forms the ice is thrown into, ſome of it being in that of a pyramid, other pieces that of a cone, others again in large ſlabs, and ſome of it reſembling the figures of men, birds and beaſts; in ſhort, no deſcription can equal ſo romantic a proſpect.

The Canadians have a very ſingular cuſtom among them, at the commencement of the year, the men go round the city and ſalute the ladies, who ſit up in ſtate for three days for that purpoſe, and as the inhabitants are acquainted with each other, the lady is generally ſaluted by the greateſt part of the men; the ſalutation is after the French faſhion, upon the cheek, when having

having ſaluted one, the lady preſents the other.

The European ladies who are ſettled here, rather than appear ſingular, adopt this cuſtom, only varying the ſalutation after the Engliſh faſhion; not but what I think the French mode preferable on this occaſion, where the lady is under the neceſſity of receiving the ſalute of every one. As I know you will make this obſervation, *I dare ſay he went his rounds*, let me candidly acknowledge I did, and with another officer. We had a very great mortification in going to the houſe of an Engliſh merchant, who has a beautiful wife: upon our entering, we diſputed who ſhould ſalute her firſt; you may ſuppoſe how eager we both were in our addreſſes upon entering the room, and would have enjoyed our chagrin, when we ſaw General Phillips there, whoſe departure muſt be waited for, before we could ſalute the lady; perhaps you will

ſay the pleaſure was heightened by contemplating her charms---*Præſtat expectare.*

This being the firſt Catholic country I ever was in, you muſt ſuppoſe me particularly attentive to their religious ceremonies at Chriſtmas. I had ever conceived, that moſt authors had greatly exaggerated their accounts upon that head, and had I not met with convincing proofs, my candor could not ſuppoſe that mankind were ſo weak in their underſtandings. That the lower claſs of people ſhould be led away is not to be wondered at, but how men of learning, ſound ſenſe and good underſtanding ſhould, is to me aſtoniſhing. It is allowable for every man to worſhip any thing ſymbolically, but their doing it in reality never can be admitted. Theſe ſuperſtitious people implicitly believe, the waxen images that are ſhewn them by their prieſts, to be abſolutely the perſons they are intended to repreſent.

On

On Chriſtmas Eve, I went to the great church, where there was a prodigious concourſe of people, and got as near as I could to the altar, to obſerve the ceremonies. About nine o'clock the ſervice began with prayers and anthems, which laſted till ten, when the cradle was brought in, upon which there was a great ſhout; after this they continued ſinging and praying till the clock ſtruck twelve, when the high prieſt brought in a wax figure of a child, ſuperbly dreſſed, the muſic ſtruck up, and there was a ſecond great ſhouting. The child being depoſited in the cradle, it was rocked till about one o'clock, when the ceremony finiſhed.

In ſome of the convents they are exceedingly curious in their wax images: there was a repreſentation of the Meſſiah, which was daily varied in its ſize, from the time of its ſuppoſed birth, till the time the Monks had fixed as neceſſary for its

being ſufficiently grown to repreſent our Saviour, at the age he was when he preached in the Temple. When I firſt went to ſee this wax-work, on the Chriſtmas-day, there was a figure of Joſeph, dreſſed in a ſcarlet cloak, with a large tie wig, another to reſemble the Virgin Mary with a little child, laying in a manger, and over it was the figure an ox and an aſs's head; which are at the ſame time emblematical of their own ſtubborneſs and ſtupidity. In a few days this repreſentation was changed, and there was another of the Wiſe Men making their offerings to the *Salvator Mundi*; ſo continuing every remarkable event of his life, till the time of preaching in the Temple; and whenever I went, there was always a vaſt concourſe of people upon their knees praying to theſe figures. This mode of religion appears to me to be extremely well calculated to inſpire devotion in the lower claſs of people, yet it is great pity ſome better method of paying adoration

tion to the Divine Being cannot be adopted to inſpire a true ſenſe of his exiſtence, than means ſo abſurd. Difference of opinion concerning religion ever will prevail, but leſt you think I am growing too ſermonic, I ſhall conclude this ſubject with an obſervation of a *Monſieur Blondeaux*, at whoſe houſe I am quartered, and who is a very ſenſible and intelligent man.

Converſing with him, one day, on their worſhipping theſe waxen images, and other ridiculous ceremonies in their religion, *Monſieur*, ſaid he, *Mon avis eſt que chacun doit ſuivre la religion pour laquelle il ſe ſont plus d'inclination; et je ſuis aſſuré qu'au jour du jugement, on ne nous demandra pas quelle religion nous avons profeſſée, mais que nous ſerons tous recompenſés on punis ſelon nos actions.*

As I informed you this goes by a flag of truce, it would be unpardonable to omit

mentioning the humanity of General Carleton, who has cloathed all thoſe who were taken priſoners, they being almoſt in a ſtate of nakedneſs; many of them he ſuffered to return to their homes upon their paroles of not bearing arms again during the war. Thoſe who are here to be exchanged are cloathed, and fare the ſame as our own ſoldiers.

Fate can only determine whether I ſhall experience the misfortune of being taken priſoner, but, if I ſhould, it is my hope that I may not meet with worſe treatment than theſe people have received.

By the mode this will be conveyed, I am not certain that it may reach you; but if it ſhould, it brings you my beſt wiſhes for your health and happineſs, and an aſſurance that I am, with great ſincerity,

Yours, &c.

LET-

LETTER XV.

Montreal, January 28th, 1777.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

THE winter is now ſet in with great ſeverity, and you would naturally conclude that this country is the moſt uncomfortable in the world, and its inhabitants the moſt unhappy, but far from it: the city and the country people around, ſeem to be perfectly in their element; there is nothing but carioling, feaſting, and other amuſements. The Canadians perfectly reſemble the French with reſpect to dancing, having meetings at each other's houſes for that purpoſe almoſt every night.

Though the weather is ſo ſevere, the inhabitants here never ſtay in doors in the day, unleſs it ſnows, which ſeldom happens, for the firſt fall is generally the only one they have, and that laſts for two or three days, after which the weather is ſettled, and has been extremely pleaſant for this month paſt; excepting one day, there has been quite an Italian ſky, not a cloud to be ſeen.

The air of Canada is reckoned the moſt ſalubrious and healthy of any in the world; yet notwithſtanding this, the Canadians are very conſumptive, and it is incredible what numbers of them die before they arrive at maturity; if they ſurvive that period, they moſtly live to a good old age.

A very eminent phyſician, Dr. Kennedy, who is with our army, attributes this entirely to the ſtoves they make uſe of in the winter, and that was any other mode of conveying

conveying warmth ſubſtituted, they would in all probability be a long lived people. For, ſays he, the inhabitants moſtly keep their ſtoves heated, and in coming out of the freſh air to enter a room where there is one, you are almoſt ſuffocated. How pernicious this muſt be to the conſtitution, eſpecially of the young children, who are continually going in and out of the heated rooms into the ſnow and upon the ice; and when the lungs and pores are expanded by the heat of theſe ſtoves, run without any addition of cloathing into the cold, where the blood receives ſo ſudden a change, that it generally leaves ſome fatal diſorder upon the lungs.

It is very difficult to eradicate long eſtabliſhed prejudices and cuſtoms, but if the Canadians were to adopt the mode of other northern climates, where the cold is nearly as intenſe as it is here, I think they would experience the benefits ariſing from it.

In

In Ruſſia, Germany, and in all the northern parts upon the Continent in Europe, the inhabitants have ſtoves ſimilar to the Canadians, but ſo conſtructed, that when the room is of a ſufficient warmth, the front opens with two folding doors, where there is a good fire in a grate, and the ſulphureous air exhales up the funnel, by which means they enjoy an agreeable warmth; if they perceive it getting cold, they ſhut the doors for a little while, till the room is ſufficiently heated. The Canadian ſtoves are ſo conſtructed, that the whole time you are in a room, you are almoſt ſtifled with the ſulphureous vapor, which muſt be extremely pernicious, and in all probability occaſions the ſallow complexion of the Canadians; there cannot be a ſtronger proof that it is ſo, than its having the ſame effect on Europeans who have been ſettled here any length of time.

They

They put me in mind of Eraſmus's *Diverſoria Germanica*-----B. *In hypocauſto exuis ocreas; induis calceos; mutas, ſi voles, induſium, veſtes pluvia madidas ſuſpendis juxta hypocauſtum; ipſe te admoves, ut ſicceris. Itaque frequenter in idem hypocauſtum conveniunt octaginta aut nonaginta, pedites, equites, negotiatores, nautæ, aurigæ, agricolæ, pueri, fœminæ, ſani, ægroti.*---Gu. *Iſtuc verè cœnobium eſt.*---Be. *Alius ibi pectit caput, alius abſtergit ſudorem, alius repurgat perones aut ocreas, alius eructat alium. Quid multis? Ibi linguarum ac perſonarum non minor eſt confuſio, quàm olim in turri Babel. Prodit famulus ſenex barbâ canâ, tonſo capite, vultu torvo, ſordido veſtitu.*---Gu. *Tales opportebat cardinalibus Romanis eſſe à poculis.*---Be. *Is circumactis oculis tacitus dinumerat, quot ſint in hypocauſto: quo plures adeſſe videt, hoc vehementius accenditur hypocauſtum etiamſi alioque ſol æſtu ſit moleſtus. Hæc apud illos præcipua pars eſt bonæ tractionis, ſi ſudore diffluant omnes. Si quis non aſſuetus vapori, aperiat*

rimam

rimam feneſtræ, nè præfocetur, protinus audit, Claude. *Si reſpondeas,* Non fero: *audis,* Quære igitur aliud diverſorium.---Gu. *Atque mihi nihil videtur periculoſius, quàm tam multos haurire eundem vaporem, maximè reſoluto corpore, atque hic capere cibum, et horas complures commorari. Tum enim omitto ructus alliatos, et ventris flatum, halitus putres: multi ſunt qui morbis occultis laborant, nec ullus morbus non habet ſuum contagium.*---Be. *Sunt viri fortes, iſta rident ac negligunt.*---Gu. *Sed interim multorum periculo fortes ſunt.*---You will pardon me ſuch a long quotation, but it is ſo appoſite, that I could not reſiſt it.

Although the weather is intenſely cold, the mode of dreſs in uſe here, and theſe ſtoves, prevent your ever feeling any; there are none of thoſe raw damp days, ſo much the ſubject of complaint in England, and from the bad effects of which no cloathing will defend you.

The

The dreſs of the natives is extremely well calculated for the climate; it conſiſts (in addition to the common habiliments worn in England) of a blanket coat, a pair of what are called leggings, with a kind of flap on the outſide of the leg, to prevent the ſnow from clogging round them; fur gloves, and a fur cap, which is made to pull over the ears, but this is ſeldom done, except when the ſtrong north-weſt winds blow. At that time it is very dangerous to go out, as you run a great riſque of being froſt-bit, which happens in an inſtant, ſometimes in turning the corner of a ſtreet, without being ſenſible of it at the time, as it occaſions no ſort of pain; if the part affected is not immediately rubbed with ſnow, and every precaution taken, it is ſure to mortify, and ſhould any one, thus circumſtanced, be imprudent enough to go near the fire, mortification is inevitable.

To

To convince you how very inſtantaneous it muſt be, I ſhall relate a ludicrous circumſtance, which however had nearly been productive of a duel.

An officer in the garriſon having a noſe remarkably large, was going to dinner at the meſs, when not four doors from his lodgings, turning round a corner, he met another officer, who immediately cried out, "God bleſs me, your noſe is froſt-bit." From the ſmall diſtance he had gone, he thought it impoſſible, and that his friend was bantering him; high words aroſe, and they parted with an appointment to meet the next morning, to reſent the affront. He made haſte to his dinner, and upon his entering the room, the officers prevented his coming to the fire, telling him at the ſame time his noſe was froſt-bit. He then began to think it no joke, and was happy to apply the uſual remedy: it was no bad puniſhment for his raſhneſs and incredu-

lity,

lity, that during the time the officers were at dinner, he was obliged to be in the cold, rubbing his nose with snow till the blood circulated, and though very sharp set, obliged to nose a meal he would have been happy to partake of.

The present season of the year not permitting any military manœuvres, and naturally inclining us more to reflections of a serious nature, than the gay appearance of the spring or summer, I shall again trespass on your patience with some few observations on the effects of the intense cold weather experienced in this country; and as you have always appeared partial to my adding the remarks of others, where I thought them more just and beautiful than my own, I shall allude to some that struck me on the following phœnomena.

I have already mentioned to you that the frost is set in, and among the many incon-

veniencies

veniencies which the inhabitants of this northern region ſuffer from it, none is more to be lamented than that of the ground being ſo much frozen, as to make it impoſſible to dig a grave for the interment of thoſe who die at this time; their friends are obliged to keep them above ground till a thaw comes, when they return the body to the duſt from whence it came.

You will eaſily conceive, my dear friend, that the daily ſight of ſo mournful an object as the bier of a departed huſband, muſt inevitably lengthen out the ſorrow of

> "The new made Widow—
> Whilſt buſy meddling Memory,
> In barbarous ſucceſſion, muſters up
> The paſt endearments of their ſofter hours,
> Tenacious of its theme."

To relatives, who often think it a religious duty to mourn the departed, ſuch ſcenes,

ſcenes, by a protracted ſorrow, often draw life to its utmoſt verge, and at the funeral they are ſcarce more alive than the corpſe they bury. To thoſe who, without feeling a loſs, are yet led to contemplate, it often ſuggeſts the idea of Arbuthnot,

" What am I? how produc'd? and for what end?
Whence drew I being? to what period tend?

I think you would hardly forgive me, were I not to relate to you the very ſtrange manner in which theſe thoughts affect the German ſoldiers of our army. I know not whether to call it ſympathy, or by any other name, but it ſtrongly evinces the connexion exiſting between the body and mind.

The Germans, to the number of twenty or thirty at a time, will in their converſations relate to each other, that they are ſure they ſhall not live to ſee home again, and are

certain that they ſhall very ſoon die: would you believe it, after this they mope and pine about, haunted with the idea, that

> "Nor wives, nor children, ſhall they more behold,
> Nor friends, nor ſacred home."

Nor can any medicine or advice you can give them divert this ſettled ſuperſtition, which they as ſurely die martyrs to, as ever it infects them. Thus it is that men, who have faced the dangers of battle and of ſhipwreck without fear (for they are certainly as brave as any ſoldiers in the world), are taken off, a ſcore at a time, by a mere phantom of their own brain. This is a circumſtance well known to every one in the army.

In caſe of any deceaſe in the family of a Canadian, the corpſe is depoſited in ſome private chamber, but in our general hoſpital there is a long room appropriated for

that

that purpoſe. The ſuperintendant of this room, an apothecary, being a man poſſeſſed of whimſical ideas, and a turn for the ludicrous, had placed the dead bodies of theſe poor Germans in various poſtures, ſome kneeling with books in their hands, others ſitting down with pipes in their mouths, many ſtanding erect againſt the wall, and as they have their cloaths on, you ſcarcely at firſt imagine they are dead; but upon a nearer approach, what with their long muſtaches, which are put in form, and their ghaſtly countenance, you cannot picture to yourſelf any thing ſo horrible, yet at the ſame time ſo truly laughable and ridiculous.

After what I have related, you will moſt probably agree with me, that the conſtitution of England has not unwiſely declared apothecaries and ſurgeons incapable of compoſing a jury upon trials for capital

offences, though it excludes ſome few of them who do honor to the profeſſion, by their gentleneſs and humanity: yet I am fearful the major part of them would not join in the warmth that is ſo frequently experienced, in the generous and noble burſts of joy that overwhelms the order of our courts of juſtice, when unprotected innocence eſcapes the arbitrary and revengeful proſecution of malice and power. I have heard ſurgeons, as an excuſe for the ſtrange want of feeling either brought on by the daily viſitation of ſickneſs and pain, or which they poſſeſs from the apathy of their nature, ſay, that were they to feel much on the occaſion, it would diſable them from doing their duty. Strange argument this! and as contradictory to ſound ſenſe as true philoſophy, which might teach them gentleneſs in the manner, and firmneſs in the execution. For my own part, ſuch is the ſituation of my mind, when I am indiſpoſed, that I have fancied

the

the affectionate "how do ye" of the ſurgeon and apothecary, has done me as much good as their drugs, or the performance of an operation in phlebotomy. Can any one conceive it proper, when a youth of ſixteen has broke a leg, that the ſurgeon, while in doubt on the firſt viſit, ſhould, in the preſence of his patient, refuſe to ſearch whether a fracture had actually happened, becauſe *he would make ſuch a roaring and a noiſe that he ſhould not get it out of his head for a fortnight*, and though the lad with ſpirit aſſured him, that thoſe who were preſent had not ſeen him ſhed a tear; the ſurgeon, however, did not make the experiment, though I believe for a much better reaſon than he gave, which was that the leg was much ſwelled. Thus did a ſurgeon, while I was in England, treat our couſin B---, lowering his ſpirits, leaving him three or four days in ſuſpence, whether his leg was broken or not, merely to ſhew how

coolly he could talk on a ſubject like that before him. Had he, inſtead of this unfeeling excuſe, but tenderly aſſured his patient, that it would put him to more pain to make the ſearch then, than at a future time, I ſhould have ſuppoſed it would have made his mind more eaſy, and been the means of preventing the acceſs of a fever, always to be feared on theſe occaſions.

In the hoſpitals, perhaps the multiplicity of caſes may plead an excuſe for little ceremony, but in private practice, where they are well paid, thus wantonly to wound the feelings of thoſe who are but in ill ſpirits, cannot add either to their credit or practice.

You will long ere this wonder how I have ſtrayed from the wild ſcenes that ſurround me, to laſh the hardened profeſſors

of

of the Eſculapian art, but you too well know that ſuch things do exiſt, not to pardon my deviation. I ſhall therefore conclude with my ſincere wiſhes that you may never have the misfortune to fall into their hands, and remain

Yours, &c.

LETTER XVI.

Montreal, February 27th, 1777.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

AS my laſt was liable to the inſpection of the enemy, I been have reſtrained from informing you of many things that it would otherwiſe have communicated. I embrace, therefore, the opportunity of an officer going to Quebec, in order that you may receive this by the firſt ſhip that ſails for England.

Since my laſt I have been again to St. John's, where, notwithſtanding the ſeverity of the weather, the artificers and ſhipwrights

wrights are all buſily employed. We have raiſed upon the Lakes, in addition to the force of laſt ſummer, a curious veſſel, called a *Radeaux*, which formerly belonged to the French, and was ſunk by the Americans near this place: it is a caſtle of itſelf, of a monſtrous conſtructure, and will hold a great number of men; ſhe is intended to convey the heavy artillery acroſs the Lakes. From the account, indeed, that we have received from ſome deſerters, the Americans do not intend to diſpute them, but wait our arrival at Ticonderoga.

The garriſon at St. John's has been kept very alert moſt of the winter, as ſeveral parties of the enemy have come acroſs the Lake upon ſleighs, and having hovered about the woods, twice attacked the blockhouſe on the oppoſite ſhore, their views, no doubt, were of deſtroying our fleet; but to render the ſhips more ſecure, the ice has been cut away for ſeveral yards round

round them, to prevent their being ſet fire to.

As I returned from St. John's along the river, my attention was ſuddenly caught by an object well calculated to have exerciſed the feelings, and employed the pen of a Sterne.

When the river freezes over, the Canadians cut a ſquare hole in the ice, for the cattle to drink out of. I ſaw a drove of ſheep ſurrounding one of theſe holes: the whole flock looked moſt piteouſly, and bleated with ſo mournful a lamentation, as would have pierced a heart of ſtone; one of them ſeemed infinitely more agitated than the reſt, and exhibited feelings that would have done honor to the moſt tender ſenſibility. Curioſity, concern, or what you will, led me inſtantly to the mouth of the hole, where a poor little lamb, not four days old, urged by extreme thirſt, had fallen

fallen in; it was ſtruggling for life, and ſent forth ſuch diſtreſsful cries!---my God, how my pulſe beat, and my breaſt was full, even to burſting!---how often did it get its little feet on flakes that ſeemed to promiſe it ſupport, and as often it ſlipt back again into the water; now it ſeemed by ineffectual exertions, anxious for life, and now hopeleſs and deſpairing, lay inanimate;---it was ſome time before I could extricate it; do me juſtice, and gueſs my feelings till I had effectually ſaved its life. I took it up in my arms, and the whole flock followed me to the farm houſe. To deſcribe the mother's ſolicitude, and the joy at finding it ſafe, is impoſſible; language can never betray what the imagination itſelf can ſcarcely paint. You who are poſſeſſed of ſympathy, and a tender regard for the whole creation, which is perhaps the greateſt ornament of human nature, will eaſily believe the infinite pleaſure this little office of humanity afforded me.

This

This is one of the many things in which the mind might be apt to arraign the wiſdom of Providence, why nature ſhould give birth to ſuch tender creatures, at ſo rigorous a ſeaſon of the year, when to all appearance they require the utmoſt warmth to bring them to perfection.

A few days ſince I went to *Verchere*, to ſee ſome officers of the 24th regiment, which village is extremely pleaſant, commanding a very extenſive view both ways of the river, with a proſpect of this city. It derives its name from a circumſtance, wherein it is proved that the fair ſex, upon emergencies, poſſeſs a courage equal, if not ſuperior to ours. In the year 1690, when this province was in a continual ſtate of warfare with the Indians, and the inhabitants were obliged to reſide in forts, it happened that a *Madame de Verchere* was left alone in the fort, whilſt the reſt of the people were at work in the fields; a ſmall

party

party of Indians gaining this intelligence, were determined to enter the fort, plunder it, and take her priſoner; *Madame de Verchere*, however, perceiving them approach in a poſture for ſcaling the paliſado, fired ſome muſquet ſhot, and drove them to a diſtance; they inſtantly returned, and were again repulſed, aſtoniſhed, you may be ſure, ſince they could only diſcover a woman, who appeared as undiſmayed as if ſhe had been ſurrounded with a numerous garriſon. The Indians knowing the place was unprovided with any other defence, made ſeveral attempts, and were always repulſed by the lady, who defended herſelf in the fort for near four hours, with a valor and preſence of mind which would have done honor to an old warrior: they were at length compelled to retire entirely, as the inhabitants of the fort (who always went out to labor with their muſquets, in caſe of an attack) were returning, and greatly ſuperior in number to the Indians. This

was

was not the only inſtance of this lady's courage, for about two years after, a party of the ſame Indians, but much more numerous, ſurprized and took priſoners the men, when at work; a little girl happened to make her eſcape, who, running into the fort acquainted *Madame de Verchere* of what had happened. Shortly after the Indians appeared before the fort, leading the men captive. There was not a ſoul left in it, beſides a young ſoldier and a number of women, who raiſed moſt lamentable cries at the ſight of their huſbands being led priſoners. In the midſt of this, *Madame de Verchere* loſt neither her courage nor preſence of mind, for after locking up the women, that their groans and weeping might not inſpire the Indians with additional courage, and aſſuming the habiliments of a ſoldier, ſhe fired a piece of cannon and ſeveral muſquet ſhot, ſhewing herſelf with her ſoldier, ſometimes in one redoubt and ſometimes in another, always

firing

firing upon the approach of the Indians to the breaſt-work, who did not make a fierce aſſault, as by her ſtratagem they ſuppoſed there were many men in the garriſon. Fortunately for the lady, ſhe had not long to remain in this diſagreeable ſtate, for the *Chevalier de Criſaſy* who was Governor of a ſmall fort at *Chamblée*, upon hearing the firing of cannon, came to the ſuccour of the place, and that ſo ſuddenly, that the Indians were obliged to make a very precipitate retreat, leaving their priſoners behind them.

This remarkable lady lived to a good old age, and died in Normandy, where there is a monument erected to her, with theſe two ſingular inſtances of her fortitude and bravery.

One would imagine that this ſpot of *Verchere* was deſtined for the trial of fortitude and bravery in the fair ſex, to which I might

might add conjugal affection. At this time a lady reſides here, noble by birth, in whom is united all the ſoftneſs and delicacy of her ſex, ever accuſtomed to thoſe elegancies and refined enjoyments which are attendant upon high rank and fortune: ſhe has forſaken all the pleaſures of the gay and faſhionable world, to accompany her huſband to the wild foreſts of Canada; already travelled a vaſt extent of country, in different extremities of ſeaſon, and with difficulties that an European will not eaſily conceive. Such inſtances of connubial attachment, in the levity of the preſent day, are rarely to be met with; but that ſuch characters do exiſt, and that the pleaſures and gaieties of the *beau monde* have not altogether vanquiſhed the ſocial virtues, is to be inſtanced in that pattern of her ſex, Lady Harriet Ackland, who has not only encountered the hardſhips already deſcribed, but upon joining the army, in addition to her former fatigues, had to attend her huſband

upon

upon his ſick bed, in a miſerable hut at *Chamblée*. A mind like hers, animated by love and affection, is alone capable of encountering ſuch hardſhips.

General Phillips commands this garriſon, and is much eſteemed by the officers of the army; he gives them as little trouble as poſſible, but will have them perform their duty, and ſeldom miſſes coming upon the parade in a morning. The following anecdote will give you a trait of his character, and ſhew you the method he has of gaining the eſteem of the officers:

One evening ſeveral young officers of the artillery having made a little too free with "the Tuſcan grape, and being high in blood," went to the houſe of a Canadian, the father of three very pretty daughters: it happened the young ladies were at home, and as they had frequently given ſome little encouragement to the officers, theſe young

men thought themſelves warranted in taking a few liberties with them; but, as the wine had deprived them of all ideas of reſtraint, they proceeded farther than the rules of decency or delicacy allow of, or than I chuſe to relate. In the midſt of this ſcene the father arrived, whoſe appearance added greatly to the confuſion, and the old gentleman making a general alarm and outcry, the officers were obliged to decamp.

The next morning a formal complaint was made to General Phillips, by the father of the young ladies, who ſaid that if he was not immediately redreſſed, he would ſet off for Quebec, and lay his complaint before General Carleton, at the ſame time informing him who had been the aggreſſors, adding, with ſome warmth, *Qu'il étoit bien certain que ce bon General lui rendroit juſtice.*

The

The General profeſſed himſelf extremely ſorry that ſuch a diſgrace ſhould have fallen upon the officers of that garriſon, and that he ſhould, for his own ſake, render him all the juſtice in his power, in order to wipe off ſuch a ſtigma from his own corps, which pacified the Canadian.

The next day being the General's levee, thoſe officers, who were now become conſcious of their imprudent behaviour, did not abſent themſelves, leaſt it ſhould argue guilt. After the General had made his bow of retirement to the levee, he deſired that the officers of the artillery would remain, and the reſt of the company being departed, he addreſſed them in the following manner:

" Gentlemen, I have had a very heavy " complaint made to me by one of the in- " habitants, of ſome of the officers of the " artillery, and cannot but ſay I feel it

" more forcibly, as commanding that corps
" ---and of ſuch a nature too---Gallantry
" has ever marked the ſoldier's character,
" and I could allow you to uſe every per-
" ſuaſive argument that lays in your power,
" but for Heaven's ſake, don't uſe violence,
" that is beneath a man!---For my own
" part, I do not know who has been guilty
" of ſuch conduct, nor can I form the
" leaſt idea of the perſon, unleſs it was
" Capt. H---, (pointing to an old and in-
" firm officer) I am ſure it could not be
" any of the young gentlemen, certainly
" their perſons and addreſs would have
" enſured them ſucceſs. When you ſolicit
" the fair, violence becomes unneceſſary.
" I neither know who the officers were,
" nor do I wiſh to be informed; but let
" me adviſe them to purſue different means,
" when they next addreſs the ladies, as
" they may reſt aſſured thoſe they have
" adopted will never ſucceed. I only deſire
" that I may never hear of any more ſuch

com-

" complaints, nor need I ſuggeſt to thoſe " gentlemen who are conſcious of having " been concerned in this affair, that it is " compatible with their characters, to " make every ſatisfaction and apology for " their conduct, to the father of the young " ladies."

I need not obſerve, that thoſe who had been the cauſe of this handſome reprimand of the General's, immediately went and made the required apology. Thus, by the natural politeneſs and addreſs of General Phillips, ended a buſineſs, which, under the cognizance of a more auſtere commander, might have been rendered fatal to the characters and fortunes of thoſe who had erred only in the moment of inebriation.

Moſt of the inhabitants have large holes dug in their cellars, which they fill with ice, and thoſe who have them are now

laying it in for the ſummer. I am informed the heat is equally as predominant as the cold is at preſent, and were it not for the ice cellars, they could not keep their proviſions ſweet a day. At this ſeaſon of the year, the inhabitants have very little trouble in going to market, having only the article of eggs and butter to purchaſe, for as ſoon as the froſt ſets in, they generally purchaſe what proviſions they think will ſerve them till it breaks up, not only fleſh and fowl, but even fiſh, for they make holes in the ice, and let down nets five or ſix fathom long, which ſeldom are drawn up empty, and theſe articles, when brought for ſale, are frozen as hard as a ſtone; the proviſions being laid in ſo long before they have occaſion to uſe them, are always tender. When they want to dreſs any thing, it is put into a pail of cold water before the fire, otherwiſe the water would ſoon be congealed; in about an hour,

hour, whatever kind of proviſion is put in thaws, and becomes fit for uſe.

The lower claſs of Canadians are exceedingly inſolent, and inſult the officers upon every occaſion; their behaviour would be inſufferable, did they not now and then get ſeverely chaſtiſed. Was I induced to hazard an opinion as to the cauſe of this, I ſhould attribute it to the very great indulgence ſhewn to them by General Carleton; they imagine it is only to lay their complaints, however abſurd, before him, and be redreſſed, according to the ſtory they tell him. The following is the beſt ſpecimen I can give you, in confirmation of my aſſertion:

As Colonel Carleton was driving his cariole, with a lady in it, upon the ice, a Canadian drove his ſleigh deſignedly againſt the Colonel's cariole, by which it was overſet and much damaged: upon this the

Colonel gave him a moſt ſevere horſe-whipping, which the Canadian bore very patiently, ſaying, with a ſlight ſhrug, *Fouëttez donc Monſieur, juſques a ce que vous ſoyez fatigué, mais je vous aſſure je me'n plaindrai au General Carleton.* The Colonel then encreaſed his flagellation, telling him at the ſame time, *Et quand vous vous plaindrez au Général, ayez la bonté de l'informer en méme tems, que c'eſt ſon frère qui vous a fouëtté.* The Canadian hearing this, and preſuming he ſhould then obtain no redreſs, began to aſk pardon, became very ſubmiſſive, and was glad to make the beſt of his eſcape, by ſlinking away and drawling out, *Que ſi'l eut ſu que c'etoit le frère du boz Général, il n'auroit pas fait cela pour tout au monde.*

This little anecdote, while it convinces you what great lengths theſe plebeians go, when they imagine themſelves protected, will afford you an example of that meanneſs

neſs ever attendant upon vulgar and baſe minds, when a proper chaſtiſement is beſtowed upon them, for ſuch inſtances of their audacity.

I am juſt informed there is an opportunity of ſending letters to Quebec, from whence this will ſoon reach you, with my ſincere wiſhes for your health and happineſs. I remain,

Yours, &c.

LET-

LETTER XVII.

Montreal, April 6th, 1777.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

AS we are now in daily hopes of the froſt's breaking up, and every one is anxious and impatient to hear from his friends, do not let me meet with a diſappointment.

Being deſirous to viſit every place worthy of notice, I went to *Chamblée*, where are the remains of a fort, formerly built by by the French, for what purpoſe they are the beſt judges: it is ſaid their intention was to prevent an army entering Canada.

It

It is ſo ſituated, that an army can march by *La Prairé* and *La Chine*, take *Montreal*, and then turn their whole force againſt the fort, which would be thus cut off from any relief. This has been clearly evinced this war, when General Preſcott, with ſeveral companies, were taken priſoners in it.

The fort is built of ſtone, of a regular ſquare, with four baſtions at each angle, without any out-works, and is ſituated a few miles from the mountains which I have already deſcribed; from its ſituation I can never ſuppoſe it otherwiſe than intended as a magazine for ſtores and proviſions to ſupply St. John's.

About three miles from the fort are the rapids, which prevent ſhipping going up to St. John's; there is a ſaw-mill there, and it being the firſt of the kind I ever ſaw, I was particular in my examination of it.

After

After the owner had given me every neceſſary information, I aſked him which Government he preferred, when he exclaimed, *Oh! Monſieur, il n'y a point de comparaiſon, l'Anglois l'Anglois!* and then related a circumſtance, which no doubt you will ſay carried a powerful reaſon for the poor old man's giving us the preference, and affords another proof how much the Canadians were oppreſſed by the French.

There was a cuſtom, which is continued for the repair of roads, tranſporting proviſions, and other ſervices for Government, called a *corvée*; it is in the breaſt of the Captains of the Militia to nominate ſuch a number of inhabitants to go with horſes and carts upon that duty.

At the time Lord Amherſt was expected to enter Canada, acroſs Lake *Champlain*, the French were continually ſending ſupplies of ammunition and proviſions to *Cham-*

Chamblée and St. John's, and the inhabitants, as well as their cattle, were almoſt worked and harraſſed to death, by the oppreſſion and tyranny of the Captains of Militia.

Before the campaign commenced, General Montcalm went to St. John's and *Chamblée*, to ſee that thoſe garriſons were in a perfect ſtate of defence, when the poor peaſants aſſembled in a body round him, and fell on their knees to tell their grievances. The man who owned the ſaw-mill told the General he was willing to ſerve *le Grand Monarque*, but he had been much oppreſſed; that his harveſt and plantation had been neglected, and his family almoſt ruined and ſtarving; and, to add to his misfortunes, *que le deux ſeuls chevaux qui lui reſtoient étoient morts de fatigue la veille*: to which the General, inſtead of comforting and redreſſing the poor old man, with a very ſtern look, and at the ſame time

time twirling his *croix de St. Louis*, replied, *Mais vous en avez les peaux, c'eſt beaucoup, c'eſt beaucoup!*

Among the various amuſements we enjoyed while away this long winter, I forgot to mention that ſkating is one, which thoſe who are fond of that diverſion are amply indulged in, there being ſuch a conſtancy and large extent of ice. There are ſeveral officers in the regiment, who being exceeding fond of it, have inſtituted a ſkating club, to promote diverſion and conviviality.

The Canadians ſkate in the manner of the Dutch, and exceedingly faſt, but the Indians dart along like lightning. Some years ſince, for a conſiderable wager, three Indians ſet off from this place at day light, and before dark arrived at Quebec, which is 60 leagues; their fatigue, however, was ſo great, that two expired ſhortly after their

their arrival, and the third did not ſurvive above a week.

In this country there is no ſpring nor autumn, and as the froſt is daily expected to break, the troops are kept in continual exerciſe. General Carleton is come to review the different regiments; but the ſnow is ſo deep upon the ground, they are exerciſed and to be reviewed on the ice, which you would naturally think extremely dangerous, and that the men would ſlip and do one another miſchief with their bayonets; but ſuch is the power of the ſun at this time, that during the day it thaws the ſurface, which freezing again at night, forms a kind of ſmall ice, affording a ſteady footing, added to which, all the ice oppoſite the city is covered with looſe ſtraws blown from the dung. The ſoil being ſo extremely prolific, they have no occaſion for manure, and therefore bring

it

it in ſleighs upon the ice, to be carried away when it breaks up.

There are many unpleaſant duties attending an officer, but none more ſo than ſitting upon a court-martial. A few days ago, being upon that duty, I felt myſelf much diſtreſſed, as being the junior officer, and of courſe the firſt to paſs ſentence, but was ſoon releaſed from that painful taſk, the culprit eſcaping a puniſhment, by his blunt oddity. The crime for which he was tried, and for which he had been twice puniſhed before, was that of drunkenneſs and diſorderly behaviour, which being upon this occaſion clearly proved, he was aſked by the Preſident what he had to ſay in his defence. He replied, "Oh! and plaiſe "your Honors, I have nothing to ſay, but "to ſave your Honors and the Court any "further trouble, you may ſet me down two "hundred, I'm ſure your Honors will think "that enough." The droll and ſimple manner

ner in which the fellow ſpoke, accompanied with his dialect, occaſioned a ſmile upon every one preſent. After he was ordered to withdraw, the Court were of opinion, that as the man was in other reſpects a good ſoldier, his whimſical manner ſhould in this inſtance ſave him a puniſhment; when, being called in, and receiving a ſevere reprimand from the Preſident, and his promiſing never to be guilty of the like again, he was diſmiſſed. After thanking the Court for their lenity, he ſaid, " Since " as your Honors have been ſo good to me, " I'll *keg* myſelf for ſix months, directly I " get home." As you will not eaſily comprehend the word *keg*, or how it can be applied in this inſtance, I will explain it to you: it is a cant word that the ſoldiers have among them, when they wiſh to refrain from liquors, they take an oath that for ſuch a limited time they will not touch any ſpirits whatever, and if they are ſtrongly addicted to liquor, not hingcan

tempt them to taſte any. Perhaps you will ſay, it would not be amiſs if the officers ſometimes followed their example.

It is incredible to think what a difference a few days makes at this ſeaſon of the year. About ſix days after our regiment was reviewed, the ſnow began to thaw, and is now totally diſſolved, except where there has been great drifts, and the ice along the banks has ſuch great chaſms, that the river is now unſafe to paſs over. The center, where the rapids had thrown up the ice, every now and then breaks, with a noiſe equal to thunder.

It is aſtoniſhing how quick vegetation is in this country, you can almoſt perceive the graſs grow; the ſnow has not been gone many days, and the fields are entirely green, which can only be attributed to the ground's being continually covered with ſnow, which nouriſhes and preſerves the

the blades with ſuch a warmth, that when the ſun, which even now is extremely powerful, can come at it, it brings it forward ſo very rapidly.

The roads are almoſt impaſſable, but I am informed that in the courſe of a fortnight they will be as dry and duſty as in the midſt of ſummer.

In going out of the city towards *Point aux Trembles*, on the right hand, ſtand as ſtately old houſe, which was built by a perſon, who, after many diſappointments and loſſes in trade, with the moſt unremiting and indefatigable induſtry, had ſcraped together a plentiful fortune, and as an alluſion to the particulars of his life, had carved over his front door the figure of a dog gnawing a large fleſhy bone, with this whimſical inſcription:

Je ſuis le chien qui ronge l'os
Sans en perdre un ſeul morceau:
Le temps viendra, qui n'eſt pas venu
Je mordrai celui, m'aura mordu.

The great diverſion of carioling is now over, and the inhabitants are getting ready their calaſhes, for they are equally as fond of driving in them as in their carioles.

I am told there is ſeldom a winter paſſes, but ſeveral people loſe their lives, both before the river freezes over and when the ice breaks up, by being too adventurous in croſſing it, a ſhocking inſtance of which happened three days ago.

Acroſs the chaſms made by the ice in breaking up, which ſometimes are five or ſix yards wide, a bridge of planks is thrown; a cariole paſſing over one of theſe, in which was two perſons, the horſe proving unruly, drew it over the ſide, and they fell down the chaſm near forty feet, where they remained a little time, it being narrow at the bottom, and though every aſſiſtance was inſtantly had, no relief could be afforded, as before the ladders and ropes could

could be let down to them, the weight of the horſe and cariole broke the ice at the bottom, and they were all carried away by the current.

I could not help thinking of the poor lamb in the ſame ſituation, and lamented the ſtriking difference between the deſpair of a whole anxious flock for the loſs of a young one, and that buſtling coldneſs which diſgraced humanity, at the ſudden and unexpected death of a man.

The cloathing for the army not being ſent out laſt year, and as it will be too late to fit it to the men when it arrives, the commanding officers of the different regiments have received orders to reduce the men's coats into jackets, and their hats into caps, as it will be the means of repairing their preſent cloathing, and be more convenient for wood ſervice, that when the army take the field, they will in a man-

ner be all light infantry. The regiments have the hair that is affixed to their caps of different colors; ours is red, and as the pureſt white hair takes the beſt color, ſeveral ſoldiers, ambitious to have theirs ſuperior to the reſt, occaſioned a very ludicrous affray betwixt them and the inhabitants, in which the ſoldiers were worſted, and got a ſevere beating.

They went into a field, to the number of about twenty, and began to cut the hair from the bottom of the cows tails: the owner obſerving this, aſſembled his neighbours and fell upon the ſoldiers with ſticks, when a ſcuffle enſued, and the ſoldiers returned home with broken heads.

Two that had been ſeverely beaten, made a complaint to the Major of the regiment, who aſked them if they had on their ſide-arms, when replying in the negative,

gative, he told them how glad he was they had got a beating; that they ſhould always be worn, being the ſame to a ſoldier as a ſword was to an officer.

The inhabitants ſay, that the winter has been quite mild to what the laſt was, and if ſo, their hard winters muſt be terribly cold; that in general the froſt ſeldom breaks till the end of this month, and ſometimes May; and as a proof of its mildneſs, ſeveral nations of Indians have come ſome hundred miles to join the army.

It is a pity their aſſiſtance cannot be diſpenſed with, as they will not be reſtrained; they are abſolutely neceſſary in this woody country, and eſpecially as the enemy have them, they are a reſtraint upon each other, and I really believe ſo much miſchief will not enſue, as if only one party had engaged them. Thoſe on our

ſide will be ſuperior in numbers to the Americans, as they cannot furniſh them with neceſſary ſupplies.

The attachment of the Indian laſts no longer than you heap preſents on him, and he ſides with that party which will make the greateſt.

It is abſolutely neceſſary to keep well with them, for though there is ſuch an amazing tract of country in poſſeſſion of Europeans, it is nothing when put in competition with the unknown tract that extends to the weſtward. And though the Indians are much depopulated, ſtill they are a very numerous race of people; it is altogether unknown where many nations are ſettled, nor could it be aſcertained any ſuch exiſted, were it not for ſtraggling Indians belonging to them, that are caſually met with.

Theſe

Theſe people are under great ſubjection to their chiefs, and pay implicit obedience to them: They come every year to Montreal, to what is called the fair, when ſeveral hundreds of them aſſemble, and are exceedingly troubleſome to the inhabitants, they receive preſents to keep them peaceable, and in league of friendſhip; it is incredible what immenſe ſums it annually coſts Government for that purpoſe.

General Carleton returns to-morrow to Quebec, and as I ſend this by one of his Aid-de-Camps, who is going to England, and who has ſent his ſervant for my letters, I am obliged to conclude haſtily, with aſſuring you, that you ſhall hear from me by every opportunity, and remain,

Yours, &c.

LET-

LETTER XVIII.

Montreal, May 20th, 1777.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

NOT having had a letter from you theſe ſix months, it is impoſſible to expreſs the pleaſure yours gave me. I ſincerely rejoice that your health is re-eſtabliſhed, and hope it will always continue ſo.

You hint in yours, that great events are expected in the courſe of the enſuing campaign, and that the operations of the two armies will nearly terminate this unfortunate conteſt. As to our army, I can only ſay,

ſay, if good diſcipline, joined to health and great ſpirit amongſt the men, with their being led on by General Burgoyne, who is univerſally eſteemed and reſpected, can enſure ſucceſs, it may be expected; but, as I obſerved before, we have more dangerous enemies at home, than any we have to encounter abroad, for all tranſactions that are to take place are publicly known, long before they are officially given out in orders, and I make no doubt but you will be as much ſurprized as the General was, when I tell you that the whole operations of the enſuing campaign were canvaſſed for ſeveral days before he arrived, who no doubt ſuppoſed, that in giving out his orders he was communicating an entire ſecret.

If, therefore, there are people in office, ſo imprudent as to communicate any public intelligence, no doubt the numerous agents and well-wiſhers to the Americans will

will not be negligent in gaining continual and immediate information. As intelligence is the main ſpring of every movement in an army, the Americans will have a great advantage, and what will add conſiderably to that advantage, is the great ſecrecy they obſerve, and the utter impoſſibility to obtain the leaſt intelligence of any of their deſigns, while they are previouſly acquainted with every one of ours.

About three weeks ago the river broke up, which was accompanied with a moſt aſtoniſhing noiſe: it happened in the night, and you muſt judge how ſtrange it muſt appear, after being uſed to ſee, for ſuch a length of time, ſo ſpacious a body of ice, with horſes, carriages, and men travelling on it, changed to a beautiful river, with a number of ſhips and boats ſailing and rowing upon it.

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The country wears quite a new face, and ſummer is come all at once. The inhabitants are now buſily employed on their farms, and every thing appears a ſcene of buſtle and induſtry, after ſuch a length of time paſſed in dull inactivity.

The army is now in movement to take the field; the advanced corps are already encamped at *Boucherville*, and were reviewed by General Burgoyne a few days ſince. I accompanied ſeveral officers to ſee them, who had never ſeen 1500 military men aſſembled together. As to the battalions of the light infantry and grenadiers, ſuch a body of men could not be raiſed in a twelvemonth, ſearch England through. The line of the advanced corps extended a mile; they performed, excluſive of the common manœuvres, ſeveral new ones, calculated for defence in this woody country, and the General was pleaſed to expreſs his approbation in the warmeſt terms,

with

with regard to the high diſcipline of the men. They proceed in a few days to St. John's, and from thence they are to go upon the Lake, as far as the river *La Cole*, where they are to encamp, till the main body of the army is put in motion.

I was much pleaſed at a little politeſſe and attention of that amiable woman, Lady Harriet Ackland---Excluſive of the excellent qualities that had already endeared her to the officers of the grenadiers (which corps Major Ackland commands) ſhe thought proper to expreſs a ſenſe of their attention to her (and who could be inattentive?) by ſome little preſent; ſo a few days before the officers took the field, ſhe ſent each of them, (thirty in number) half of a large Cheſhire cheeſe, which was no ſuch ſmall preſent as you may imagine, Engliſh cheeſe being then a dollar per pound; and perhaps it may not occur to you, there is no preſent you can ſend to an European

European abroad, ſo great as good Cheſhire cheeſe. If you ſhould be inclined to ſend me one, and this is no ſmall hint, let me deſire you to encloſe it in lead, and then in horſe-hair, the former to preſerve the moiſture, and the latter as the only ſafe-guard againſt the amazing large rats that are in ſuch great abundance in almoſt all ſhips.

It much pleaſed me to obſerve the manner in which the inhabitants kept Holy Thurſ-day, which they term *La Fête Dieu*. On the evening preceding that day, I could not conceive the reaſon that the people were bringing cart loads of ſmall firs into the city; but judge how great was my ſur-prize in the morning, when I went to the parade, to find the ſtreets ſwept as clean as poſſible, theſe trees ſtuck in the ground on each ſide, and ſo contrived that their tops united, that every ſtreet had the appear-ance of a grove, and upon enquiry found

it

was intended for the celebration of this great feſtival.

About eleven o'clock the proceſſion began from the great Church, which extended near half a mile in length. All the principal Clergy, the Friars of the different Convents, with a large band of muſic attending; in the center of the proceſſion, under a canopy of crimſon velvet, ſupported by ſix Prieſts, the High Prieſt carried the HOST, upon a Bible, covered with a white napkin, and before him two men bore a large baſket full of flowers, which were ſtrewed by ſeveral little boys in ſurplices; four others, with ſilver chalices, were continually wafting the incenſe towards the Hoſt, the people at the ſame time ſinging anthems. In this manner the proceſſion went through moſt of the ſtreets in the city, and thoſe who met it fell inſtantly on their knees; thoſe who remained in their houſes, came to the windows

and

and did the ſame. I cannot but ſay it was a pleaſing ſight, and could not help thinking but it muſt be magnificent indeed, in thoſe countries where the Roman Catholic is the eſtabliſhed religion.

We were apprized of ſome proceſſion, from an order given the day preceding by General Phillips, but had no idea of ſeeing ſuch a ſpectacle. There having been ſeveral diſputes in Roman Catholic countries, concerning the reſpect that the military ſhould pay the Hoſt, when paſſing by, his Majeſty, a few years ago, iſſued out a general order for that purpoſe, which General Phillips gave out in orders as follows :---
" As to-morrow there will be a great pro-
" ceſſion through the city, I need not in-
" form the officers of the reſpect and
" attention his Majeſty has required ſhould
" be paid the Hoſt, when paſſing. The
" non-commiſſioned officers are deſired to
" be particular in informing the men, that

" when the Hoſt is going by, they are to
" front it, and behave in a decent and re-
" ſpectful manner, to pull off their hats,
" and remain in that ſituation till the pro-
" ceſſion has paſſed. Any complaint that
" is made to the General, will be puniſhed
" with the utmoſt ſeverity."

To-morrow I leave this city, to join the advanced corps at the river *La Cole*. Situated as I muſt be, confined to the company, which I am proud in ſaying is commanded by Lord Peterſham, you cannot expect the whole detail of the manœuvres of the different actions that may happen, or a particular account of the ſiege of Ticonderoga. I ſhall however inform you of every thing that comes under my own obſervation, and give you my opinion of events, not as an officer, but merely as a ſpectator.

The

The officers take the field under great diſadvantages, in regard to horſes to tranſport their baggage, when they quit the Lakes; thoſe for the uſe of Government are ſent through the woods to Crown Point, but their arrival at that place is very uncertain, as they are liable to be taken by the enemy. It is quite a hazard, but rather than be diſtreſſed when I get to Ticonderoga, I have riſqued ſending mine, with ſome others, through the woods; if they arrive ſafe it will be a vaſt convenience; if not, I ſhall be compelled to ſend back my baggage, and then, hey for courage and a knapſack!

Should any misfortune attend the cattle intended for Government, it will greatly retard the army, provided the Americans ſhould abandon Ticonderoga; at all events it will impede us in ſome meaſure, as it will be ſeveral days after the army gets there before the horſes arrive, and you

may eaſily conceive an army cannot move without its artillery and proviſions.

Another great diſadvantage which we experience in the proſecution of this war, and which the Americans avoid is, that we have to tranſport all our proviſions with us, whereas they have magazines ſtored with great abundance, every thirty or forty miles; where, in caſe any diſaſter attends their army, the loſs of their proviſions is eaſily recruited. But if any ſuch event ſhould happen with us, we ſhould be obliged to make a ſtand at ſome ſtrong poſt, till proviſions could be ſent from Canada.

Added to this, the Americans are by much our ſuperiors at wood-fighting, being habituated to the woods from their infancy. Our ſucceſs in any engagement muſt greatly reſt on the bayonet, the great utility of which General Burgoyne pointed out in an order a few days ſince, ſtrongly recom-

recommending the officers to inculcate that idea into the minds of the men.

After I leave this city, you muſt not expect to hear from me ſo regularly as you have lately. But you may reſt aſſured, I ſhall embrace every opportunity of letting you know I am not yet food for the crows.

Yours, &c.

LETTER XIX.

Montreal, May 26th, 1777.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

A FEW days ſince I was invited to dine with Capt. Frazer, who is ſuperintendant over the Indians, and who gave us a dinner entirely of wild-meats. Moſt of the diſhes were only to ſet off the table, there being ſuch things there as very few of the company could partake of; we had the leg of a bear, indeed, which was ſalted, and far exceeded in flavor a leg of pork; another diſh, which though deemed a great rarity with you, is not eſteemed ſuch here, a very fine haunch of veniſon.

To

To tell you the truth, I really made my repaſt of what *Monſieur Roberdeau*, of Quebec, hinted to me, of the *Friandiſes*.

Juſt as the cloth was removed, there came into the room a great number of Indians, (and amongſt them one very old) who not having much ceremony, and ſeeing the bottles and glaſſes on the table, would drink with us, and began to be extremely troubleſome, when Capt. Frazer interfered, and to ſhew you the controul he has over them, the inſtant he ſpoke, they quitted the room, but not without a preſent, for I did not underſtand the Indian language, but as I thought, and as he afterwards told us he was obliged to order his ſervant to give them a bottle of rum.

After we had got rid of theſe troubleſome gueſts, and the table reſtored to order, Capt. Frazer ſaid, Gentlemen, I obſerved you all took notice of that old Indian,

which the company acquieſcing in, he told the following very ſingular hiſtory relative to him:

That Indian, ſaid he, is of the *Algouquin* nation, who are converted to Chriſtianity, and who, being attached to the French, had excited the enmity of the *Iroquois*, whoſe hatred to Chriſtians carried them to every exceſs of fury, murdering and tormenting to death, without any regard to ſex or age, every one that had the misfortune to fall into their hands. To eſcape the fury of the *Iroquois*, the whole nation of the *Algouquins* were determined to fight their way to the French, in which ſtruggle the women took no inconſiderable ſhare, but nobly reſiſted their enemies on this occaſion, when it ſo happened, that the mother of that old Indian was taken priſoner.

The *Iroquois* carried her to one of their villages, ſtripped her naked, bound her hand

hand and foot in one of their cabins, and in that ſtate ſhe remained for ten days, the ſavages ſleeping round every night. The 11th night, when they were all aſleep, ſhe diſengaged herſelf from the ropes they had bound her with and fled into the foreſt. The ſecond day after her eſcape, her footſteps were perceived by the *Iroquois* who were in ſearch of her, and they purſued her with ſuch expedition, that the third day ſhe diſcovered them cloſe at her heels: ſhe inſtantly plunged into a pond of water that was near her, and diving amongſt ſome weeds and bulruſhes, juſt kept her head above water, ſo as to breathe, and by this ſtratagem eſcaped from her purſuers, who, after making a moſt diligent ſearch, went away the courſe they thought ſhe would take. When night came on, ſhe left her ſituation, and took a different route to that ſhe perceived the ſavages had taken, by which means this poor creature wandered through the woods for five and thirty

thirty days, without any other ſuſtenance than roots and wild-berries. At length ſhe came to the river St. Laurence, and not perceiving any canoe along the ſhore, made a kind of wicker raft, on which ſhe croſſed the river, and had paſſed by Montreal, not knowing well in what part of the river ſhe was, when, perceiving a canoe full of ſavages, and fearful leſt they might be *Iroquois*, ſhe again ran into the woods, and remained till ſun-ſet, when ſhe directed her courſe to Montreal.--- Within a mile of the city, ſhe was diſcovered by a party whom ſhe knew to be *Algonquins*; when they approached her, ſhe ſquatted down behind a buſh, calling out to them that ſhe was not in a condition to be ſeen, as ſhe was naked; one of them then threw her a blanket, and conducted her into the fort. After Capt. Frazer had related this ſtory, he told us this old Indian took great pleaſure in telling it to every one, at the ſame time expreſſing the utmoſt

utmoſt indignation, and vowing revenge againſt the *Iroquois*.

We had ſcarcely drank five glaſſes, after Captain Frazer had finiſhed his narration, when the Indians returned, upon a pretence of buſineſs to him, which was no other than that of procuring more rum, which Captain Frazer refuſing them, they grew extremely troubleſome, and what, with the liquor they had already drank, were much beyond any controul, for they paid no attention to Capt. Frazer, who, finding he could not pacify, or any way get rid of them, made us an apology, and the company broke up.

On my return home, mentioning to my landlord what I had heard concerning the *Iroquois*, he ſaid, *Monſieur, les Iroquois ſont le plus ſauvage et frauduleux de tout*, and related the ſad cataſtrophe of a Miſſionary, one *Father Jogues*, who reſided a little below

low *Trois Rivieres*: imagining he had made great progreſs in converting them to Chriſtianity, during a ſhort interval of peace, was willing to ſpread his doctrine amongſt the remote of the *Iroquois*; for that purpoſe, he ſet out with four Indians, and a young Frenchman as his ſervant; he had not paſſed *Trois Rivieres* above a league, when his four ſavage guides abandoned them: yet ſuch was his enthuſiaſm and confidence of having wrought upon them ſo far, that his perſon was in ſafety, he would not return, but travelled on, and at the very firſt *Iroquois* village he and his ſervant came to, he was too fatally convinced of his error, for they were ſeized, ſtript, ſcourged, buffeted, and treated as priſoners of war. At this ſudden change the good Father was in great amazement, and began (for he could ſpeak their language) to expoſtulate with all the powers of elocution, which were of no avail, and the only favor that his eloquence could procure

procure him was, that inſtead of burning him and his companion alive, they humanely condeſcended to behead them with a hatchet. After my landlord had finiſhed the ſtory, he ſaid, with great warmth and indignation, *Monſieur, les Iroquois ſont frauduleux comme le Diable, et en voyagent j'ai toujours crainte de le rencontre*; and, from the ſtory he had related, you will no doubt ſay he had very good foundation for his fears.

I am, yours, &c.

LET-

LETTER XX.

Montreal, May 31ſt, 1777.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

BEFORE I leave this city, though there is not much leiſure time on my hands, I ſhall communicate to you the fruit of my enquiries (to which I have applied myſelf this winter) reſpecting the advantage England derives from Canada.

It was a complaint, and perhaps not without foundation, that Canada never enriched France, and that none of its inhabitants acquired the leaſt fortunes, but the Indian traders. As it was not the

fault

fault of the country, which has many ſtaple commodities, from which a ſource of wealth might be derived, whence then is to be attributed this cauſe? Firſt, from the continual ſtate of warfare this province has been in from its very firſt ſettlement; to the oppreſſiveneſs of the government, and the rapaciouſneſs of the clergy; from which cauſes (except thoſe enterprizing people who embark in the fur trade) the inhabitants not having a ſtimulative motive, were content with a mere exiſtence, and if a Canadian could but pay his tythes and duties to his prieſt, and lay up a little to enjoy a long tedious winter, his happineſs was compleat.

But the ſcene is now reverſed; all over the province there are ſaw and griſt-mills, and the Canadians are now enriching themſelves, by exporting lumber and grain to the Weſt Indies and the other provinces. As I obſerved before, it was not the fault

of

of the country, for to perſons induſtriouſly inclined, this country has many advantages, as after they have tilled their ground in autumn, from that time till the middle of April and the begining of May, when they ſow their crops, they have to cut down timber, and to ſaw it for building, ſhipping, and other uſes, ready for exportation when the froſt breaks up. Another great advantage this country poſſeſſes, is the quick vegetation, for the crop that is ſown in May ſprings up, grows to perfection, is cut down and carried into the barns by the end of Auguſt.

Without conſidering the hardſhips and difficulties they were expoſed to, the Indian trader was always looked upon with an envious eye: but now, as they are not liable to the rapacity of ſtate and clergy, but enjoy all the privileges of our happy conſtitution, their induſtry is very great, and thoſe winters that uſed to be ſpent in feaſting

feasting and pleasure, is now employed to more useful purposes, and an Indian trader is not now a man so much to be envied.

Daily experience shews, that this province is capable of producing more resources than one. What motives of policy could it be in the French to keep the Canadians in such a state of oppression? It should seem that France was sufficiently proud in having this vast territory annexed to its crown, and content with the produce of the fur trade. But lest you think I am entering too deeply into politics, I shall conclude, deferring to my next an account of the fur trade, which still is the greatest resource of wealth to England, but which must in process of time be annihilated, from the very great destruction of the animals, which every year diminishes them so fast, and occasions their flying to remoter parts, that the trader has hundreds

of leagues farther to go in ſearch of them; the neceſſity, therefore of encouraging huſbandry, will appear evident to you. But I ſee I am again running into politics, therefore adieu.

Yours, &c.

LET-

LETTER XXI.

Montreal, June 3d, 1777.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

I NOW proceed to give you ſome account of the fur trade, and as in one of my former letters the nature of Indian traders were deſcribed to you and their modes of trafficking with the ſavages, I ſhall give you ſome little account of the beaſts, whoſe furs they go in ſearch of, and hope you will not think any little remarks that I may interſperſe, as dictating to your ſuperior ſenſe and underſtanding, but merely ideas that occur to me whilſt writing.

By the accounts moſt authors have given us of Canada, they deſcribe it, upon its firſt diſcovery, to have been an immenſe tract of foreſt, ſerving only as an extenſive haunt to wild beaſts, with which it was over-run, and which had multiplied prodigiouſly; for thoſe few men who did inhabit thoſe deſerts, not having any flocks or tame animals, left more room and food for thoſe that were wandering and free, like themſelves; and although there was no great variety, ſtill there were multitudes of each ſpecies. But they, as every thing, ſooner or later, in this terreſtrial globe, paid tribute to the ſovereignty of man; that cruel power that has been ſo fatal to every living creature, and the few that the natives deſtroyed for their food and cloathing, were of little note in ſuch a prodigious multitude. No ſooner had our luxury led us to make uſe of their ſkins, than the natives waged a perpetual war againſt them, which they carried on with great eagerneſs, as in return

return for the havoc and deſtruction they made amongſt them, they indulged in a plenty and variety of gratifications they were before unaccuſtomed to; and to render the war the more deſtructive, we aſſiſted them with fire-arms, by the means of which great quantities of furs, and of a prodigious variety, were procured. Moſt of theſe were known in Europe, which were the ſame as thoſe that came from the northern parts of our hemiſphere, but they were in too ſmall quantities to ſupply a great demand.

Caprice and novelty has made theſe furs more or leſs in faſhion, and England has found it to be for the intereſt of Canada, that they ſhould be valued at home; and that they are ſo with a witneſs, the enormous price your ſiſter gave for a muff and tippet, is a convincing proof: here I aſſure you they are very dear, the commoneſt fur cap ſtanding you in two guineas.

Having given you a little hiſtory of furs, I ſhall now deſcribe to you ſome of the beaſts whoſe ſkins are ſtill in requeſt, and firſt begin with the Otter, which is ſo generally known in England, as to need no deſcription; there is no other difference than that it is much larger, and its hair blacker and finer than ours, a circumſtance fatal to them, as expoſing them more to the purſuit of the ſavages.

The Pole-cat, of which there are three ſpecies, is in great eſtimation among the Canadian hunters, as the hair is darker, more gloſſy, and more ſilky than thoſe in Europe.

Even the Rat of North-America is valuable for its ſkin; but the two principal ones that are in the article of trade is the Oppoſſum and the Muſk; many and ridiculous are the ſtories which are propagated relative to the female of the former, ſuch

as,

among others, that of the young ones getting into the belly again through the teats, the fact is this, under its belly there is a loose skin, with a small aperture in the center, and this she can expand or depress at will; if pursued, and she thinks her young are in danger, she puts them into this bag, and runs away with them up a tree. Another singular instance of sagacity in this animal, which is seldom mentioned, is, that if pursued by other animals, such as the Tiger, Mountain-cat, &c. that can mount trees, it goes to the extremity of a bough, and suspends itself by its tail. The skin of the Musk-rat is employed for the same purposes as the Beaver, of which he seems to be a diminutive; but its most intrinsic value is for that predominant and powerful perfume it produces, and which is called after this animal.

The Ermine is about the size of a squirrel, but not so long, has the same lively eyes,

look, and his motions are ſo quick, that the eye can ſcarcely follow them, it has a long buſhy tail, which at the tip is as black as jet; what enables me to give you ſo exact a deſcription of this little animal is, that the daughter of the gentleman at whoſe houſe I lodge, has one in her poſſeſſion; indeed it is the faſhion for the young ladies to keep them, as ours do ſquirrels. One thing not a little extraordinary of this animal is, that all the winter it was white as ſnow, and the other day, when admiring it, I expreſſed a ſurprize in perceiving it had a yellow tint, when the young lady ſaid, *Ah! Monſieur, au milieu de l'été c'eſt jaune comme d'or.* This little animal is reckoned one of the beauties of Canada, for though the ſable is ſmaller, it is not ſo common.

The Martin, whoſe ſkin is the moſt valuable, is only to be met with in the center of the foreſts, far from any habitation, and

and although ſo ſmall an animal, is a beaſt of prey, living entirely upon birds. It is but a foot and a half long, yet leaves a print in the ſnow, which appears to be the footſtep of a larger animal, occaſioned by its jumping along and giving the marks of both feet together: their fur is much eſteemed, but is inferior to that ſpecies which are called ſables, whoſe ſkins are of a ſhining black. Thoſe of the Martin encreaſe in value from the various dyes, the deeper the tint the more valuable, and they gradually encreaſe from a light brown to the deep gloſſy black of the ſable. The Martins ſeldom more than once in two or three years quit their receſſes in theſe impenetrable woods, and when they do, the Canadians take it as a ſign of a good winter, imagining there will be great quantities of ſnow, and conſequently good ſport in deſtroying them.

The

The Wild-cat of Canada is reckoned much ſmaller than thoſe upon the northern continent of Europe, and is the ſame kind of animal that was called by the ancients the Lynx, of which an erroneous opinion has ever prevailed amongſt the vulgar, that it is poſſeſſed of the power of piercing to death with its eyes whatever it deſtines for its prey, as nature had deprived it of the faculties of hearing and ſmelling at a diſtance, which miſtaken notion muſt have ariſen from this ſimple cauſe, that as this animal lives upon what game it can catch, it will purſue it to the very tops of the talleſt trees, and nature having endowed it with a quicker ſight than moſt other animals, whatever it purſues, though of ever ſo ſmall a nature, it never loſes ſight of, let the foliage of the trees be ever ſo thick. The fleſh of this animal is very white, and ſaid to be well flavored, but the Indians hunt it chiefly for its ſkin, the hair of it being long, and of a fine light grey,

grey, but not ſo valuable as that of the fox.

This animal, like other natives of the frozen climates, where nature produces but few vegetables, is carniverous.

Beſides the ſmall furs, Canada ſupplies England with the ſkins of the Stag, Deer, Roebuck, the Caribou and the Elk, the latter of which is ſuppoſed to be the original of all theſe ſpecies. All theſe animals are hunted by the Canadians, but the chace of the Bear the ſavages have reſerved to themſelves, and which is their favorite ſport; it ſeems beſt adapted to their warlike manners, ſtrength and bravery, and eſpecially as thoſe animals ſupply moſt of their wants.

Fearful leſt you may grow tired of this heavy detail of wild beaſts, I ſhall conclude this, reſerving to my next the deſcription of

of the only two that are worthy of notice, the Bear and the Beaver, the latter of which poſſeſſes all the friendly diſpoſitions, diveſted of all the vices and misfortunes that await us, and which debars us from the true and real pleaſures ariſing from the friendly and ſweet intercourſe that ſhould ſubſiſt between man and man.

Yours, &c.

LET-

LETTER XXII.

Montreal, June 7th, 1777.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

OPPORTUNITIES almoſt daily occuring, I am happy to embrace them, during the little time I have to remain in this city; when I quit it, you will think me very remiſs in addreſſing you. Let me ſincerely aſſure you, although there will be no regular conveyance, I ſhall embrace every opportunity that offers.

As in my laſt I mentioned to you that the ſavages were ſupplied with moſt of their wants from the Bear, feeding upon its

its fleſh, rubbing themſelves with its greaſe, and cloathing themſelves with its ſkin, it may not be amiſs to give you ſome little account of this animal, and the ſingular method they have of deſtroying them.

As no doubt you muſt have ſeen many of them in England, I ſhall only give you an account of ſome of its particularities.

This animal is rather ſhy than fierce, and will ſeldom attack a man; on the contrary, they will fly at the ſight of him, and a dog will drive them a great way. The only time they are dangerous is after having been wounded, when they quit the hollow trees they have reſided in all the winter, and at the time of rutting, which is in the month of July; they are then ſo fierce and ill-tempered, the effects of jealouſy, that they are extremely dangerous to meet with. At this ſeaſon they grow very lean, and their fleſh has ſo diſagreeable a reliſh, that the Indians, whoſe

whoſe ſtomachs are none of the moſt delicate, will not touch it. Who could conceive that an animal, ſo unlovely in its appearance, ſhould in the ſpace of one month grow leaner by the *belle paſſion*, than after an abſtinence of ſix months.

But the ſeaſon over, he recovers his former *embonpoint*, which he is greatly aſſiſted in regaining by the great quantity of fruits the woods abound with, and of which he is extremely greedy; grapes he is particularly fond of, climbing after them up the moſt lofty trees. After he has fed for ſome time on fruits, his fleſh becomes delicious, and continues ſo till ſpring.

It is ſurprizing enough that this animal, although provided with ſo warm a fur, and not of the moſt delicate appearance, ſhould take more precautions than any other to preſerve itſelf from the cold, (this may ſerve as a leſſon from nature, not

not to form our judgment of things by appearance, ſince every one is the beſt judge of his own wants;) for which purpoſe, when the winter ſets in, he climbs up the hollow rotten trunk of an old tree, ſtopping up the entrance with pine branches, by which means he is ſheltered from all inclemencies of the weather, and when once lodged, he ſeldom or ever quits his apartment during the winter, which is the more ſingular, it being certain that he lays up no manner of proviſion, and that he muſt require ſome nouriſhment. That he requires little food is natural to ſuppoſe, as at the end of autumn he is very fat, takes no exerciſe, and almoſt always ſleeps, and, therefore, loſing little by perſpiration, has very ſeldom occaſion to go abroad in queſt of it, and when he does, haſtens back to his retreat. A ridiculous notion is gone abroad into the world, that during the winter the ſole nouriſhment of the Bear is licking its paws, which, no doubt, aroſe from

from the amazing long time theſe animals can, either through the nouriſhment they receive from ſleep, or idleneſs, go without food. Yet that ſuch an idea ſhould prevail, I am not ſurprized, as there has been an inſtance of one that was chained for a whole winter without either food or drink, and at the end of ſix months was found as fat as when firſt caught.

The ſeaſon for hunting the bear is in winter, when the Indians force him from his habitation by ſetting fire to the pine branches that he has drawn together at the bottom of the hollow tree, when the ſmoke aſcending up the trunk, drives him from his late comfortable habitation, from which he no ſooner deſcends, than they kill him. The Indians now only deſtroy them to anſwer their own wants, as formerly they uſed to do for the purpoſe of diſpoſing of their ſkins to the traders; but it was no ſooner underſtood that

Canada was ſtored with Beavers, than the ſavages, urged on by a more lucrative intereſt, directed their war againſt an animal the moſt harmleſs, who moleſts no living creature, and is neither carniverous nor ſanguinary. This is, I am ſorry to obſerve, become an object of man's moſt earneſt purſuit, and the one that the ſavages hunt after with the greateſt eagerneſs and cruelty; a circumſtance entirely owing to the unmerciful rapaciouſneſs which luxury has made neceſſary in ſkins, for all the poliſhed nations of Europe.

This animal is by nature adapted for ſocial life, being endowed with an inſtinct in the preſervation and propagation of its ſpecies; it is generally about three or four feet long, moſtly weighing from forty to ſixty pounds; the hinder feet are webbed, which enables it to ſwim, and in the fore feet the toes are divided; its tail is oval, very flat, and covered with ſcales; the head

reſembles

reſembles that of a rat, in which are four very ſharp teeth, with theſe it will gnaw through trees of a great circumference.

This animal is diveſted of turbulent paſſions, without a deſire of doing injury to any one, free from craft, ſcarcely defending itſelf, unleſs it lives in ſociety; it never bites, except when caught, and as nature has not ſupplied it with any weapons of defence, by a natural inſtinct as it were, it forms ſocieties, and has various contrivances to ſecure its eaſe, without fighting, and to live without committing, or ſuffering an injury; although this peaceable, and you may ſay almoſt tame animal, enters into ſociety, it is nevertheleſs independent, every want being ſupplied by itſelf, and therefore it is a ſlave to none. It will not ſerve, nor does it pretend to command, every care ſeems directed by an inſtinct, that at the ſame time, as it labors for the general good, it lives for itſelf

alone. To learn the nature of the ſocieties of theſe animals, as it was related to me by my landlord, may afford you the ſame entertainment it did me.

In the month of June or July, they aſſemble from all quarters, to the number of two or three hundred, near ſome lake or pool of water, to build their habitations againſt winter, the conſtruction of which, from the complication and manner of diſpoſing the materials, one would be led to imagine to be beyond the capacity of any one but an intelligent being, and eſpecially in their conſtructing of dams, when they cannot meet with a lake or pool; in this caſe they fix upon ſome river, when the firſt of their labour is to make a dam, which they generally do in the ſhalloweſt part of the ſtream, for that purpoſe felling trees with the four ſharp teeth that I have already deſcribed; five or ſix of them will gnaw a large

one

one through, and to mark to you the wonderful ſagacity of theſe induſtrious brutes, they contrive it ſo that it always falls in the water: having laid this foundation, they fell ſmaller trees, which they roll to this great one, but what appears the moſt wonderful is, the manner they ſink the piles in the water, to prevent the ſtream's carrying away the trees, they lay acroſs. Their contrivance is this, with their nails they dig a hole in the ground, or at the bottom of the water, with their teeth they reſt the ſtake againſt the bank of the river, or againſt the tree that lies acroſs, and with their feet they raiſe the ſtake and ſink it with the ſharp end (which theſe ſenſible animals make to it) in the hole that they have made, where it ſtands up; and to render theſe ſtakes or piles more ſecure, they interweave branches of ſmall trees, and with their tails wiſk up a kind of mortar with clay, and fill the vacant ſpace of the interwoven branches.

After this work is finiſhed by the body at large, each one conſiders of ſome lodging for himſelf; an hut being built upon piles on the ſides of the Lake, capable of containing from two or three to ten or fifteen, (for they divide themſelves into companies, and build theſe huts accordingly;) which are formed with walls and partitions of about two feet thick and as many in height, arched over, and the whole ſo plaiſtered with clay, that the ſmalleſt breath of air cannot penetrate through them; each apartment is made large enough to contain two, a male and female; each hut has two entrances, one towards the land, and the other on the ſide towards the ſtream, the former for them to go into the woods to fetch proviſions, and the latter to eſcape from their enemy, that is to ſay MAN, the deſtroyer of cities and commonwealths. The inſide of their apartments has no other furniture than the flooring of graſs covered with the

the boughs of the fir, and theſe animals are ſo cleanly, that no filth of any kind is ever ſeen in theſe apartments.

In each hut there are ſtore houſes proportionate to the number of its inhabitants; every one knows its own, and never ſteals from his neighbour. Each party, that is to ſay, the male and female, live in their own habitations; they have no jealouſies or quarrels; the proviſions of the community are collected and expended without any conteſt, and reſt ſatisfied with the ſimple food that their labors procure them. The only paſſion they have is that of conjugal affection, wherein a moſt excellent example is held forth to that all-wiſe and all-ſufficient man, who is led away by every guſt of paſſion and vanity.

Two of theſe animals, in the courſe of their labours in the ſummer months, match together, unite by inclination and reciprocal

ciprocal choice, and agree to paſs the winter, and like too many couple who haſtily enter into matrimony with equally as good motives, but forgetting what ſhould make the happineſs laſting, that of laying up a ſtock to guard againſt an inclement ſeaſon.

The happy couple retire to their hut about the end of autumn, which has been obſerved to be no leſs favorable to love than ſpring; for if the ſeaſon of flowers invites the feathered tribe to propagate in the woods, the ſeaſon of fruits as powerfully excites the inhabitants of the earth in the reproduction of their ſpecies; beſides, as winter gives leiſure for amorous purſuits, it compenſates for the advantages of other ſeaſons.

I am this moment told that the pacquet is going to ſail, and muſt therefore defer a further account of this wonderful and

ſurprizing

ſurprizing animal, from whom ſo many leſſons of induſtry and morality may be drawn, till another opportunity, and conclude with aſſuring you of my beſt wiſhes for your happineſs and proſperity, and that I remain

Yours, &c.

LET-

LETTER XXIII.

Montreal, June 8th, 1777.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

I SEND this by our friend Captain F. who is going poſt to Quebec, from which place he will ſail immediately, and as the navigation from this city to Quebec is much delayed by the various currents and other cauſes in the river, he will be there as ſoon, if not ſooner, than the ſhip I ſent my firſt by, in which caſe you may receive this before the other, which may greatly bewilder you. I therefore ſhall juſt hint to you, this is the concluſion of the hiſtory of the Beaver.

If

If my recollection does not deceive me, I left off in my laſt at deſcribing his love, that univerſal paſſion of nature, which the Beaver ſeems to enjoy in the conjugal ſtate, comparatively much happier than mankind; for when they couple and enter their huts, they never quit each other, conſecrating their whole time to love, from which neither labor nor any other object can divert them.

If by chance a ſun-ſhiny day ſhould happen to enliven the gloomy melancholy of the ſeaſon, the happy couple leave their huts to walk on the borders of the Lake, regaling themſelves with ſome freſh bark, and breathing the ſalutary exhalations of the earth. At the concluſion of the winter, the mother brings forth the endearing pledges of their affection, while the father ranges the woods, allured by the ſweets of the ſpring, leaving to his little family that portion of room which he took up in his

his narrow cell. The Beaver generally produces two or three, which the mother ſuckles, nurſes and trains up, for when the father is abſent, ſhe takes out the young ones, in her excurſions for cray and other fiſh, and green bark to recruit her own ſtrength and to feed her young, till the ſeaſon of labor returns; for although theſe animals are ſo induſtrious as to build themſelves habitations that would laſt them a century, they are obliged to rebuild them every year, as the firſt thing the traders do when they meet with any of their works, is to break down their cabins and the dam, together with their dyke.

There are various methods of taking and deſtroying theſe animals, by draining the water from their dykes, and ſometimes by ſnares; they are very ſeldom ſhot at, for unleſs killed on the ſpot, they are loſt to the huntſman, by plunging into the water wounded, when they ſink to the bottom

and

and never riſe. The moſt certain and general mode of catching them is by ſetting traps in the woods, where they perceive them to have been eating the bark of the young trees; they bait theſe traps with freſh ſlips of wood, which the Beaver no ſooner touches, than a great weight falls and cruſhes its loins, when the huntſman, who lies concealed near the ſpot, haſtens to kill it.

No doubt but by this time you are heartily tired with ſo long a detail of this animal; but if I have deviated from the common path of deſcription, I can only ſay it has proceeded from theſe two cauſes, that I cannot ſufficiently admire the many virtues it poſſeſſes, diveſted of all manner of vice, and have been loſt in the contemplation of that Divine Being, who formed it with all theſe natural endowments.

You

You muſt pardon my making a compariſon between the ſocieties of theſe animals and thoſe of a convent. If happineſs may be ſaid to dwell in both communities, it muſt be allowed to be by very oppoſite means. The happineſs of one conſiſts in following the dictates of nature; in the other, nature, the ſweets of ſocial love, and the laws of our creation, are totally deſtroyed! The inſtitution of the ſociety of the Beaver, ſeems ſolely to propagate its ſpecies; the other to annihilate it. How many, who might have dignified nature under the character of a fond mother and an affectionate wife, are loſt to the world and to themſelves!---they cannot help feeling tender emotions, and, in the bitterneſs of miſery, execrate that tyrant cuſtom, which has torn them from the embraces of happineſs and chained them in cells, a prey to affections hopeleſs and inſatiable---the idea carries me beyond myſelf.

What

What will not the feelings of humanity exclaim, when it conſiders that theſe gloomy and ferocious inſtitutions are waſting away in all parts of Europe! Inſtitutions not only injurious but inhuman, which, under the abſurd and ridiculous notion of making men equal to angels, robs health of its vigor, and beauty of its reward.

I am moſt agreeably interrupted in my ſerious reflections, by a viſit from our friend S---, who is juſt arrived from New-York; he was taken priſoner in the courſe of laſt ſummer, by a notorious fellow of the name of Whitcomb, the ſame man who ſhot Brigadier General Gordon, the particulars of which I ſhall inform you in my next.

Yours, &c.

LET-

LETTER XXIV.

Montreal, June 12th, 1777.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

IN my laſt I mentioned to you the name of one Whitcomb, a native of Connecticut, and a great partizan of the Americans, who, after the defeat upon the Lakes, offered his ſervice to venture through the woods, and bring in priſoner an Engliſh officer, for which purpoſe he ſtationed himſelf among the thickeſt copſes that are between *La Prairé* and St. John's. The firſt officer who happened to paſs him was Brigadier General Gordon; he was mounted on a ſpirited horſe, and Whitcomb thinking

thinking there was little probability of ſeizing him, fired at and wounded him in the ſhoulder. The General immediately rode as faſt as he could to the camp at St. John's, which he had but juſt reached, when with loſs of blood and fatigue, he fell from his horſe; ſome ſoldiers, took him up and carried him to the hoſpital, where, after his wound was dreſſed, and he was a little at eaſe, he related the circumſtance, which being immediately made known to General Carleton, a party of Indians were ſent out to ſcour the woods, and ſearch for Whitcomb, but in vain, as he haſtened back to Ticonderoga. General Carleton, however, imagining he might be lurking about the woods, or ſecreted in the houſe of ſome diſaffected Canadian, iſſued out a proclamation among the inhabitants, offering a reward of fifty guineas to any one that would bring Whitcomb, alive or dead, to the camp.

A few days after this General Gordon died of his wound, in whoſe death we ſincerely lamented the loſs of a brave and experienced officer.

When Whitcomb returned to Ticonderoga, and informed the General who commanded there, that although he could not take an officer priſoner, he believed he had mortally wounded one, the General expreſſed his diſapprobation in the higheſt terms, and was ſo much diſpleaſed at the tranſaction, that Whitcomb, in order to effect a reconciliation, offered his ſervice to go again, profeſſing he would forfeit his life, if he did not return with a priſoner.

He accordingly, with two other men, proceeded down Lake *Champlain*, in a canoe, to a ſmall creek, where they ſecreted it, and repaired to the woods, to the ſame ſpot where Whitcomb had ſtationed himſelf before; the two men lay concealed a little way

way in the wood, whilſt he ſkulked about the borders of it.

The regiment of which our friend S--- is Quarter-maſter, having occaſion for ſome ſtores from Montreal, he was going from the campt at St. John's to procure them; he was adviſed not to go this road, but by way of *Chamblée*, on account of the late accident, but you know him to be a man of great bravery and perſonal courage, joined with uncommon ſtrength; reſolving not to go ſo many miles out of his road for any Whitcomb whatever, he jocoſely added, that he ſhould be very glad to meet with him, as he was ſure he ſhould get the reward; in this, however, he was greatly miſtaken, his reward being noother than that of being taken priſoner himſelf.

Previous to his ſetting out he took every precaution, having not only loaded his fuſée, but charged a brace of piſtols; when

he came near to the woods I have already ſcribed, he was very cautious, but in an inſtant, Whitcomb and the two men he had with him ſprung from behind a thick buſh, and ſeized him before he could make the leaſt reſiſtance; they then took from him his fuſée and piſtols, tied his arms behind him with ropes, and blind-folded him.

It was three days before they reached the canoe that had been concealed, during which time they had but very ſcanty fare; a few hard biſcuits ſerved to allay hunger, while the fruit of the woods was a luxury!--- When Whitcomb had marched him to ſuch a diſtance as he thought he could not make his eſcape, were he at liberty, through fear of loſing himſelf, for the greater eaſe on his own part, and to facilitate their march, they untied his hands, and took the cloth from his eyes. Only picture to yourſelf what muſt have been his feelings, at ſeeing himſelf in the midſt of a thick wood, ſurrounded

rounded by three deſperate fellows, and uncertain as to their intentions!

At night, when they had partaken of their ſcanty pittance, two out of the three uſed to ſleep, whilſt the other kept watch. The firſt night he ſlept through fatigue; on the ſecond, as you may naturally ſuppoſe, from his great anxiety of mind, he could not cloſe his eyes, in the middle of which an opportunity occurred whereby he could have effected his eſcape, for the man whoſe watch it was, fell faſt aſleep. He has ſince told me how his mind wavered for a length of time, what meaſures to purſue; he could not bear the idea of putting them to death, though juſtified by the rules of war: if he eſcaped from them, they might in all probability retake and ill-treat him. The great hazard of all, which determined him to abide by his fate was, that by being ſo many miles in a tract of wood, where he could not tell what

direction to take (having been blind-folded when he entered it) he might poſſibly wander up and down till he periſhed with hunger. In this reſtleſs ſtate, he remained till day-break, when they reſumed their march, and in the evening came to the creek where the canoe was concealed; they then ſecured him again, put him in the canoe, and proceeded up the lake to Ticonderoga, where they arrived early the next morning. When they landed him he was again blind-folded, that he might not ſee their works, and thus conducted to the General, whoſe only motive for endeavouring to get an officer was, either by threats or intreaties, to gain information relative to our army. In this, however, he was greatly diſappointed, and as he could not obtain the leaſt intelligence from our friend, he ordered him as priſoner of war upon his parole, to ſome of the interior towns, from which place, as I informed you in my laſt, he is juſt returned, as hearty

hearty and well as ever. I ſhould not have dwelt ſo long on this ſubject, but knowing you have his welfare ſo much at heart, that you feel yourſelf intereſted in whatever concerns him.

I ſhall now conclude, but before I do ſo, let me congratulate you on the recovery of your health, after ſo alarming an illneſs. Good health alone ſweetens life, and that you may long enjoy it, both for your own ſake and that of your friends, is the ardent wiſh of

Yours, &c.

LETTER XXV.

Camp at St. John's, June 14th, 1777.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

I HAD ſcarcely finiſhed my laſt, when I received orders to march to this place, and am now entering upon the hurry and buſtle of an active campaign. You muſt not accuſe me now of inattention, if you ſhould not hear from me ſo frequently.

As I obſerved in a former letter, it was the general opinion the King's troops would not be prevented paſſing Lake *Champlain*, but wait our arrival at Ticonderoga; in that caſe the operations of the campaign will

will commence at Crown Point. It would be doing great injuſtice to thoſe who have been ſtationed at this garriſon during the winter, if I omitted to mention their great exertions in repairing, augmenting, and rendering fit for immediate ſervice the *batteaux*, gun-boats, and armed veſſels. The other parts of the army have been equally as induſtrious in eſtabliſhing magazines at Montreal, Sorell and *Chamblée*, which muſt be effected during the froſt, not only as the conveyance is eaſier at that time, but on account of the roads, which, by the running and melting of the ſnow, are generally impaſſable for ſome months.

By all the accounts that can be collected, the Americans are in great force at Ticonderoga, nearly to the amount of 12,000, and a conſiderable number occupy Lake George, ſuſtained by a great naval power, with a view, no doubt, of ſecuring their retreat

in caſe they ſhould be obliged to abandon Ticonderoga.

Should the navigation of Lake *Champlain* be ſecured by the ſuperiority of our naval force, the advanced corps, under the command of General Fraſer, with a large body of ſavages and Canadians, for ſcouts and out-works, and the beſt of our engineers and artificers, are to take poſſeſſion of Crown Point, and to fortify it. The intention is with a view to prevent inſult from the enemy, during the time neceſſary for collecting ſtores, forming magazines and fortifying poſts, all which muſt be accompliſhed previous to our proceeding in force to lay ſiege to Ticonderoga.

This brigade being ſtationed at Crown Point, as a check on the enemy, the reſt of the army are to be employed in forwarding the convoys and tranſports of proviſions, removing artillery, preparing faſcines and other

other neceſſaries for artillery operations, and to commence the ſiege; and that the enemy during that period may not reſt in tranquillity, corps of ſavages, ſupported by detachments of the light infantry, are to keep them in continual alarm within their works, at the ſame time to cover reconnoitering parties, both of general officers and engineers, and to obtain the beſt intelligence of their ſtrength, poſition and deſign. From the great preparations that have been made during the winter, and by the vigorous exertion of the troops, who are in great health and ſpirits, it may reaſonably be expected that the reduction of Ticonderoga will be early in the ſummer, unleſs ſome misfortune, human prudence cannot foreſee, ſhould prevent it, although it is the general opinion it will be warmly conteſted, and that there will be much blood-ſhed. The Americans, when they drew the ſword, muſt have foreſeen a bloody conteſt, and expected all the horrors of a

war,

war, carried on as it were in their own boſoms, laying waſte their fields of harveſt, deſtroying every comfort, and introducing every miſery mankind is capable of deviſing. But had certain perſons, who were actuated by no other motives than a welfare and proſperity to both countries, directed their reſolves, they would have adviſed a peaceable ſubmiſſion to the Mother Country, and eaſily prevented all the horrors of a civil war. America, from a number of aggregate fortunate circumſtances, by ſlow degrees, had ariſen to a ſtate of great proſperity, and the power that ſhe had fixed by that proſperity, bids fair to be of ſome duration, yet, in my opinion, not to ſuch a degree as to eſtabliſh her independence; her preſent diſtreſſed ſituation, without ſome other favorable circumſtance, muſt inevitably prevent the execution of that idea. I am fully perſuaded in my own mind, had they but reſerved their ideas of independency for half

half a century longer, from their increaſe of population and wealth, they would have fixed it without much difficulty, or even the aſſiſtance of any other power, and thus become the firſt nation in the world. In the preſent day, if they attain their boaſted end, it muſt be by the arm of ſome nation, to whom, for want of reſources to defray the expences of their alliance, ſhe will be in continual broils and diſputes, which may perhaps finally terminate in a total ſubjection, and that abject ſlavery they ſo ridiculouſly pretend to dread from us. Should this be the caſe, ſhe will regret the loſs of that protection from the Mother Country, ſhe is now treating with ſo much ingratitude. Leaving you to your own remarks, for no doubt you will ſay, "a ſoldier and a politician!" I ſhall divert your attention from the cabals of mankind, to the wonderful productions of nature, in deſcribing to you a little animal that was brought me lately, called a flying-ſquirrel.

This

This animal takes its name from being provided with a ſkin, or membrane, which adheres to each ſide, about the breadth of three inches, extending from its hind to fore feet, where it is connected by a bony articulation; it expands this membrane like a ſail, by which it is enabled to fly from one tree to another, at a great diſtance. Moſt ſquirrels will jump from tree to tree, when contiguous, but this animal will fly an incredible way. Its ſkin is very ſoft, and of a beautiful dark grey, with eyes large, black, and very prominent; it ſomewhat differs from the other ſquirrels in its taſte, caring little for nuts, the chief and favorite food being the freſh tops of the birch. This little animal makes its bed in a very curious manner, of the moſs of the ſame tree, in which it lies as it were buried, ſeldom ſtirring from thence in the day time, unleſs diſturbed. I came into poſſeſſion of it from a little drum-boy's going up a tree after a bird's neſt, who perceiving

perceiving it lay in that dormitory ſtate, ſeized it and brought it to me, for he had heard that I was making a collection of natural curioſities. By the bye, I beg you will inform me, in your next, if you received ſafe the little collection I ſent you from Montreal. I have added this curious animal, and one of another ſpecies, called the ground ſquirrel, which is a little larger than a mouſe, and moſt beautifully ſpotted like a fawn, to the collection I am now making, and hope they will be conſidered as tokens of friendſhip from

Yours, &c.

LET-

LETTER XXVI.

Camp at River Bouquet, upon Lake Champlain, } *June 23, 1777.*

MY DEAR FRIEND,

WE have proceeded thus far, and, from all appearance, ſhall traverſe the remainder of our way on the Lake, without meeting any oppoſition from the enemy, their deſign being, as I before mentioned to you, to diſpute Ticonderoga; the intelligence from different ſpies and deſerters fully confirm us in this opinion, who report, that they have labored hard to ſtrengthen, and mean to diſpute it moſt vigorouſly. They are now building row-gallies at Fort George, for the defence

defence of that lake, and fortifying the road to Skeneſborough.

It ſeems the Congreſs have conſigned to the four New England provinces, as they are excellent axe-men, and very expeditious in felling of trees, the taſk of ſupplying men and proviſion to oppoſe the progreſs of our forces, which they have undertaken, upon condition of being exempt from ſupplying General Waſhington's army. If that really is the caſe, we ſhall have buſineſs enough upon our hands, having four of the moſt powerful and rebellious provinces to deal with; they have this advantage too, that upon their frontiers, ſhould any diſaſter befall them, it can be ſo eaſily recruited, both as to men and proviſions.

Having proceeded thus far up the lake, I am enabled to give you ſome account of it, eſpecially as we have paſſed the broadeſt part. There are many ſmall iſlands diſ-

perſed in different parts, and where it is wideſt, you are not able to diſcern the oppoſite ſhore; there are ſeveral plantations on each ſide, but they are more numerous on the ſouth, the north ſide being lofty rocky mountains. It abounds with great quantities and variety of fiſh; ſturgeon, black baſs, maſquenongez, pike of an incredible ſize, and many others, among which is a cat-fiſh, which is about eighteen inches long, of a browniſh caſt, without ſcales, having a large round head, reſembling that of a cat's, from which it derives its name; they have on their heads protuberances ſimilar to the horns of a ſnail, and like them can elevate and depreſs them at pleaſure, and when fully extended, are about two inches long; if in liberating one of theſe fiſh from the hook, it ſtrikes you with one of its horns, it leaves an unaccountable and unpleaſant ſenſation on the part affected for two or three days. Its fins are very bony and

ſtrong,

ſtrong, like thoſe of a perch, it commonly weighs about five or ſix pounds; the fleſh is fat and luſcious, greatly reſembling the flavor of an eel.

There are at this ſeaſon of the year prodigious flights of pigeons croſſing the lake, of a moſt beautiful plumage, and in aſtoniſhing quantities.

Theſe are moſt excellent eating, and that you may form ſome idea as to their number, at one of our encampments, the men for one day wholly ſubſiſted on them; fatigued with their flight in croſſing the lake, they alight upon the firſt branch they can reach to, many are ſo weary as to drop in the water, and are eaſily caught; thoſe that alight upon a bough being unable to fly again, the ſoldiers knock down with long poles.

During the flights of theſe pigeons, which croſs this lake into Canada, and are continually flying about in large flocks, the Canadians find great amuſement in ſhooting them, which they do after a very ſingular manner: in the day time they go into the woods, and make ladders by the ſide of the tall pines, which the pigeons rooſt on, and when it is dark they creep ſoftly under and fire up this ladder, killing them in great abundance; they then ſtrike a light, and firing a knot of the pitch pine, pick up thoſe they have killed, and the wounded ones that are unable to fly.--- During the flights of theſe pigeons, which generally laſt three weeks or a month, the lower ſort of Canadians moſtly ſubſiſt on them

Now I am upon this ſubject, it reminds me of what *Monſieur Blondeaux* was continually telling me of, *le grand plaiſir que j'aurai quand l'été commencera en tuant les tourtes*;

tourtes; adding, at the ſame time, with great pleaſure, *amuſement que le Canadien aime beaucoup*. However, as to the numbers he uſed always to join with this obſervation, I generally thought my good landlord was ſetting off his country to great advantage by dealing in the marvellous, and ſhould have been impreſſed with that idea, had I not been by ocular demonſtration convinced to the contrary.

Not only at this encampment, but likewiſe at our former ones, we were under the neceſſity of clearing the thick underwood, and cutting down the ſmall trees before we could encamp, during which time you are almoſt devoured with the muſquitos, that ſwarm in great abundance, and are continually peſtering you till the fires are lighted, when the ſmoke immediately diſperſes them.

In clearing the woods for our encampment at this place, a very favorite dog of Lord Balcarres's, of the Newfoundland breed, had a moſt miraculous eſcape; in the very inſtant that a heavy pine tree was falling, the dog run acroſs, the tree fell, and cruſhed the poor creature into the earth; in this ſituation every aſſiſtance was given, and when he was extricated, he came jumping and friſking up to his maſter, to the ſurprize of every one, who naturally imagined the creature muſt have had all its bones broken, for when the tree fell, it ſhook the earth ſome diſtance round. The preſervation of the dog is entirely attributed to the nature of the ſoil, which was ſandy and pliable. I need not, add, after this event, how much his Lordſhip prizes his favorite dog *Batteaux*.

Two miles up this river there is a ſaw-mill, and a fall of water, where there is moſt excellent trout-fiſhing. You who

are

are ſo fond of the diverſion of angling, would find moſt excellent ſport in this country. How I could wiſh you here, only for an hour, in that employment, that I might have the happineſs, for that little time, of converſing with you, to aſk you a thouſand queſtions, to hear of thoſe who are dear to me, to——but I muſt ſtop my reflection and my wiſhes together.

Yours, &c.

LETTER XXVII.

Camp at River Bouquet, upon Lake Champlain, } *June 24, 1777.*

MY DEAR FRIEND,

THIS river derives its name from a Colonel *Bouquet*, who commanded an expedition againſt the Indians, whilſt Canada was under the French Government, as at this place he had a converſation with them upon a treaty of peace.

It ſhould ſeem as if it was the deſtined ſpot to have intercourſe with Indians, for yeſterday General Burgoyne had a conference with them; and as I am ſenſible how much our employing Indians in this war

war is reprobated in England, I ſhall give you the General's ſpeech, and their anſwer, of which you may form your own opinion. When the aſſembly were met, the General thus addreſſed them, by means of an interpreter:

"*Chiefs and Warriors,*

"THE great King, our common father, "and the patron of all who ſeek and de- "ſerve his protection, has conſidered with "ſatisfaction the general conduct of the "Indian tribes, from the beginning of "the troubles in America. Too ſagacious "and too faithful to be deluded or cor- "rupted, they have obſerved the violated "rights of the parental power they love, "and burned to vindicate them. A few "individuals alone, the refuſe of a ſmall "tribe, at the firſt were led aſtray: and "the miſrepreſentations, the ſpecious al- "lurements, the inſidious promiſes, and "diverſified

" diverſified plots in which the rebels are
" exerciſed, and all of which they employed
" for that effect, have ſerved only in the
" end to enhance the honor of the tribes
" in general, by demonſtrating to the
" world how few and how contemptible
" are the apoſtates! It is a truth known
" to you all, theſe pitiful examples except-
" ed (and they have probably before this
" day hid their faces in ſhame) the collec-
" tive voices and hands of the Indian tribes
" over this vaſt continent, are on the ſide
" of juſtice, of law, and the King.

" The reſtraint you have put upon your
" reſentment in waiting the King your
" father's call to arms, the hardeſt proof,
" I am perſuaded, to which your affection
" could have been put, is another mani-
" feſt and affecting mark of your adher-
" ence to that principle of connection to
" which you were always fond to allude,

and

" and which is the mutual joy and the
" duty of the parent to cheriſh.

" The clemency of your father has been
" abuſed, the offers of his mercy have
" been deſpiſed, and his farther patience
" would, in his eyes, become culpable,
" in as much as it would with-hold re-
" dreſs from the moſt grievous oppreſſions
" in the provinces, that ever diſgraced
" the hiſtory of mankind. It therefore
" remains for me, the General of one of
" his Majeſty's armies, and in this council
" his repreſentative, to releaſe you from
" thoſe bonds which your obedience im-
" poſed—Warriors you are free—go forth
" in might and valor of your cauſe—ſtrike
" at the common enemies of Great Britain
" and America—diſturbers of public order,
" peace and happineſs, deſtroyers of com-
" merce, parricides of ſtate."

The

The General then directing their attentions, by pointing to the officers, both German and Britiſh, that attended this meeting, proceeded:

" The circle round you, the chiefs of " his Majeſty's European forces, and of " the Princes his allies, eſteem you as " brothers in the war; emulous in glory " and in friendſhip, we will endeavor re- " ciprocally to give and to receive ex- " amples; we know how to value, and " we will ſtrive to imitate your preſever- " ance in enterprize and your conſtancy, " to reſiſt hunger, wearineſs and pain. " Be it our taſk, from the dictates of our " religion, the laws of our warfare, and " the principles and intereſt of our policy, " to regulate your paſſions when they over- " bear, to point out where it is nobler to " ſpare than to revenge, to diſcriminate " degrees of guilt, to ſuſpend the uplifted " ſtroke, to chaſtiſe and not to deſtroy.

" This

" This war to you my friends is new;
" upon all former occaſions, in taking
" the field, you held yourſelves authorized
" to deſtroy wherever you came, becauſe
" every where you found an enemy. The
" caſe is now very different.

" The King has many faithful ſubjects
" diſperſed in the provinces, conſequently
" you have many brothers there, and theſe
" people are more to be pitied, that they
" are perſecuted or impriſoned wherever
" they are diſcovered or ſuſpected, and to
" diſſemble, to a generous mind, is a yet
" more grievous puniſhment.

" Perſuaded that your magnanimity of
" character, joined to your principles of
" affection to the King, will give me fuller
" controul over your minds, than the mili-
" tary rank with which I am inveſted. I en-
" join your moſt ſerious attention to the
" rules which I hereby proclaim for your
" invariable

" invariable obſervation during the cam-
" paign."

After anſwering, *Etow! Etow!* in their language ſignifying approbation, they appeared to pay very great attention to the interpreter, eager to catch the General's inſtructions.

" I poſitively forbid blood-ſhed, when
" you are not oppoſed in arms.

" Aged men, women, children and pri-
" ſoners, muſt be held ſacred from the
" knife or hatchet, even in the time of
" actual conflict.

" You ſhall receive compenſation for
" the priſoners you take, but you ſhall
" be called to account for ſcalps.

" In conformity and indulgence of your
" cuſtoms, which have affixed an idea of
" honor

" honor to ſuch badges of victory, you
" ſhall be allowed to take the ſcalps of the
" dead, when killed by your fire and in
" fair oppoſition; but on no account, or
" pretence, or ſubtilty, or prevarication,
" are they to be taken from the wounded,
" or even dying; and ſtill leſs pardonable,
" if poſſible, will it be held, to kill men in
" that condition, on purpoſe, and upon a
" ſuppoſition that this protection to the
" wounded would be thereby evaded.

" Baſe, lurking aſſaſſins, incendiaries,
" ravagers and plunderers of the country,
" to whatever army they may belong, ſhall
" be treated with leſs reſerve; but the lati-
" tude muſt be given you by order, and I
" muſt be the judge on the occaſion.

" Should the enemy, on their parts, dare
" to countenance acts of barbarity towards
" thoſe who may fall into their hands, it
" ſhall be yours alſo to retaliate: but till

" this

" this ſeverity be thus compelled, bear im-
" moveable in your hearts this ſolid maxim,
" (it cannot be too deeply impreſſed) that
" the great eſſential reward, the worthy
" ſervice of your alliance, the ſincerity of
" your zeal to the King, your father and
" never-failing protector, will be examined
" and judged upon the teſt only of your
" ſteady and uniform adherence to the
" orders and counſels of thoſe to whom
" his Majeſty has entruſted the direction
" and honor of his arms."

After the General had finiſhed his ſpeech, they all of them cried out, *Etow! Etow! Etow!* and after remaining ſome little time in conſultation, an old Chief of the *Iroquois* roſe up, and made the following anſwer:

" I ſtand up in the name of all the na-
" tions preſent to aſſure our father, that
" we have attentively liſtened to his diſ-
" courſe---

" courſe---we receive you as our father,
" becauſe when you ſpeak we hear the voice
" of our great father beyond the great lake.

" We rejoice in the approbation you have
" expreſſed of our behaviour.

" We have been tried and tempted by
" the Boſtonians; but we have loved our
" father, and our hatchets have been
" ſharpened upon our affections.

" In proof of the ſincerity of our pro-
" feſſions, our whole villages, able to go
" to war, are come forth. The old and
" infirm, our infants and wives, alone re-
" main at home.

" With one common aſſent, we promiſe
" a conſtant obedience to all you have
" ordered, and all you ſhall order, and
" may the father of days give you many,
" and ſucceſs."

After the Chief of the *Iroquois* had finiſhed, they all as before cried out, *Etow! Etow! Etow!* and the meeting broke up.

One of the General's Aid-de-Camps informed me, that the General was highly pleaſed to find the Indians ſo tractable, hoping the eſſential ſervice to be expected, would be obtained in employing them. It is through the friendſhip of Captain ****, who took the ſpeeches down, that I am enabled to ſend them to you.

Orders being given that the army is to embark to-morrow at day-break, to proceed up the lake, and having many things to adjuſt, I hope you will pardon my making a haſty concluſion, and remain,

Yours, &c.

LET-

An Indian Warrior

Entering his Wigwam with a Scalp.

LETTER XXVIII.

Camp at Button-Mole-Bay, upon Lake Champlain, } *June* 24, 1777.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

AFTER the meeting of the Indians at river *Bouquet*, the General ordered them ſome liquor, and they had a war-dance, in which they throw themſelves in various poſtures, every now and then making moſt hideous yells; as to their appearance, nothing more horrid can you paint to your imagination, being dreſſed in ſuch an *outre* manner, ſome with the ſkins of bulls with the horns upon their heads, others with a great quantity of feathers, and many in a ſtate of total nudity: there

was one among them at whoſe modeſty I could not help ſmiling, and who, rather than be diveſted of any covering, had tied a blackbird before him. Joined to theſe ſtrange dreſſes, and added to the groteſque appearance, they paint their faces of various colors, with a view to inſpire an additional horror. It is almoſt incredible to think what a prodigious degree of conceit and foppery reigns amongſt the ſavages in decorating their perſons, perhaps not inferior to that by which alone ſome of our pretty fellows of the preſent age ſo conſpicuouſly diſtinguiſh themſelves. The following ſtriking inſtance of it, ſeveral other officers, as well as myſelf, were eye-witneſſes to, and it afforded us no ſmall entertainment:

In our way to their encampment, we obſerved a young Indian who was preparing for the war-dance, ſeated under a *wigwam*, with a ſmall looking-glaſs placed before him,

him, and ſurrounded with ſeveral papers, filled with different paints. At our ſtopping to obſerve him, he was at firſt a little diſconcerted, and appeared diſpleaſed, but ſoon after proceeded to adorn himſelf. He firſt ſmeared his face with a little bear's greaſe, then rubbed in ſome vermillion, then a little black, blue, and green paints, and having viewed himſelf for ſome time in the glaſs, in a rage he wiped it all off, and began again, but with no better ſucceſs, ſtill appearing diſſatisfied. We went on to the council, which laſted near two hours, and on our return found the Indian in the ſame poſition, and at the ſame employment, having nearly conſumed all his ſtock of colors! What a pity it is the ladies in England, adepts in this art, have not ſuch a variety of tints to exerciſe their genius with!---in my mind, if they muſt paint, the more ridiculous they appear, the better.

Bear's greaſe, indeed, would not be a very delicate perfume, but no matter—— if nature muſt be patched up, it little ſignifies with what!——I could laugh at the ſtreaks on an Indian, but am ſtruck with contempt at the airs put on by your flirts, from a penny-worth of carmine, and touched with pity when *ſixty* would aſſume the glow of *fifteen*, through a falſe ſhame, or a childiſh want of admiration!

An Indian's idea of war conſiſts in never fighting in an open field, but upon ſome very extraordinary occaſion, for they conſider this method as unworthy an able warrior, and as an affair in which fortune governs, more than prudence or courage.

They are of eſſential ſervice in either defending or invading a country, being extremely ſkilful in the art of ſurprizing, and watching the motions of an enemy.

On

On a ſecret expedition they light no fire to warm themſelves, nor prepare their victuals, but ſubſiſt merely on the miſerable pittance of ſome of their meal mixed with water; they lie cloſe to the ground all day, and only march in the night; while halting to reſt and refreſh themſelves, ſcouts are ſent out on every ſide to reconnoitre the country, and beat up every place where they ſuſpect an enemy can lie concealed. Two of the principal things that enable them to find out their enemies, is the ſmoke of their fires, which they ſmell at a vaſt diſtance, and their tracks, in the diſcovery and diſtinguiſhing of which they are poſſeſſed of a ſagacity equally aſtoniſhing, for they will diſcern by the footſteps, that to us would appear extremely confuſed, nearly the number of men, and the length of time ſince they paſſed; this latter circumſtance was confirmed to me by an officer, who has the ſuperintending of their tribes. Being out upon a ſcout with them

them, they diſcerned ſome footſteps, when the Indians told him that ſeven or eight people had paſſed that way, and that only two or three days ſince: they had not gone far, before they came to a plantation with a houſe upon it, and as is the cuſtom with the Indians, ran up to it, and ſurprized a ſcouting party of the Americans, conſiſting of ſeven, who had come there the over-night.

In travelling through the woods, they carefully obſerve the trees, eſpecially the tall pines, which are for the moſt part void of foliage, on the branches that are expoſed to the north wind, the trunk on that ſide having the bark extremely rugged, by which they aſcertain the direction to be taken; and for the more eaſy diſcovery of their way back again, their tomahawks are continually blazing the trees, which is cutting off a ſmall piece of the bark, and

as

as they march along they break down the underwood.

Every Indian is a hunter, and their manner of making war is of the ſame nature, only changing the object, by ſkulking, ſurprizing and killing thoſe of their own ſpecies, inſtead of the brute creation.

There is an indiſputable neceſſity of having Indians, where Indians are employed againſt you, unleſs we had men enough of our own trained up in that ſort of military exerciſe, as our European diſcipline is of little avail in the woods againſt ſavages.

The reaſon of my dwelling ſo much on the ſubject of Indians, is becauſe I am ſenſible how repugnant it is to the feelings of an Engliſhman to employ them, and how much their cruelty and barbarity has been exaggerated.

They

They fight, as thoſe oppoſed againſt them fight; we muſt uſe the ſame means as our enemies, to be but on an equal footing with them. I often reflect on that laconic ſpeech a great and gallant officer made to his men, in the laſt war, previous to their going to battle, "there, my brave lads, "there's the enemy, and, by God, if you "do not kill them, they'll kill you."

There is a very great natural curioſity upon Lake *Champlain*; I am led to imagine that it was originally two lakes. About the center of it the land contracts to ſuch a degree, that it appears as if the rock had been ſeparated by an earthquake; the paſſage between what are now two rocks, was but juſt wide enough for our large ſhips to paſs through, and that only with a fair wind, on account of the current. You'll allow the place to be very juſtly named Split-Rock.

This

This bay, where our preſent encampment is, lies on the ſouth ſide of the lake, and derives its name from the pebbles, of which great abundance are thrown up on the ſhores, the exact form of a button-mould, and where thoſe of wood or horn could not be procured, would be no bad ſubſtitute.

Juſt before we entered this bay, there came on a moſt violent and unexpected ſquall, occaſioned by the land winds blowing from the top of the high mountains on the north ſide of the lake; it was but of ſhort duration, but very terrible while it laſted. You will form ſome idea how powerful, and with what violence it blows from theſe mountains, from the following circumſtance: A ſmall brig belonging to the fleet, with very little ſail, was in an inſtant laid flat on her ſide, and the crew were obliged to cut away the maſts, to make her riſe again. The lake was vaſtly agitated,

agitated, you may eaſily judge how very dangerous it muſt have been to the ſmall *batteaux*, which are conſtructed with flat bottoms, and quite ungovernable when it blows hard. Though the men who rowed the *batteaux* in which I was were continually relieved, it was with much difficulty they could bring her into this bay, their ſtrength being almoſt exhauſted. However, the whole brigade got ſafe, except two *batteaux* that were ſwamped juſt as they got cloſe in ſhore, but as it was not out of a man's depth, no lives were loſt.

During this ſtorm I dreaded much for the fate of the Indians in their birch canoes, whom I thought muſt have inevitably been ſunk; upon reflection, indeed, they did not ſeem to be in ſuch perſonal danger, as both male and female, above the ſtate of infancy, are eternally in the water; to the ſurprize of every one, however, their canoes roſe to every wave, and floated like a cork,

a cork, which muſt be entirely owing to the lightneſs of their conſtruction; this lightneſs obliged them to remain ſome time upon the lake after we had landed, leſt the waves ſhould daſh their canoes againſt the ſhore and deſtroy them.

I omitted to mention in my laſt, that at the mouth of the river *Bouquet* there is a ſmall iſland, on which were found ſeveral young fawns, where the does had ſwam acroſs to drop them, as if by a natural inſtinct ſenſible that the buck would deſtroy her young. A ſoldier of the company, who had been on this iſland, got one, which he preſented to his Captain; it was beautifully marked, and ſo young, that it could ſcarcely walk; we put it on board the *batteaux*, but during the ſtorm it was waſhed overboard, and every effort to ſave it proved ineffectual, without hazarding the lives of thoſe in the *batteaux*.

Every

Every day, as Addiſon ſays, grows

"Big with the fate of Cato and of Rome."

To-morrow we embark from this place to Crown Point, where our operations commence againſt the enemy. Reſt aſſured I ſhall embrace every opportunity of ſending you the particulars of our proceeding.

Yours, &c.

LET-

LETTER XXIX.

Camp at Crown Point, June 30, 1777.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

WE are now within ſight of the enemy, and their watch-boats are continually rowing about, but beyond the reach of cannon ſhot. Before I proceed farther, let me juſt relate in what manner the army paſſed the lake, which was by brigades, generally advancing from ſeventeen to twenty miles a day, and regulated in ſuch a manner, that the ſecond brigade ſhould take the encampment of the firſt, and ſo on ſucceſſively, for each brigade to fill

fill the ground the other quitted; the time for departure was always at day-break.

One thing appeared to me very ſingular, which I am not philoſopher enough to account for; in ſailing up the lake, on all the iſlands and points of land, the water ſeemed to ſeparate the trees from the land, and to paſs in a manner through them, having the appearance of ſmall bruſh wood, at a very little heighth from the water; nor do the trees appear to come in contact with the land, till you approach within two or three miles of the object, when they ſhow themſelves to be diſtinctly joined.

I cannot forbear picturing to your imagination one of the moſt pleaſing ſpectacles I ever beheld. When we were in the wideſt part of the lake, whoſe beauty and extent I have already deſcribed, it was remarkably fine and clear, not a breeze ſtirring,

ſtirring, when the whole army appeared at one view in ſuch perfect regularity, as to form the moſt compleat and ſplendid regatta you can poſſibly conceive. A ſight ſo novel and pleaſing, could not fail of fixing the admiration and attention of every one preſent.

In the front, the Indians went with their birch canoes, containing twenty or thirty in each, then the advanced corps in a regular line, with the gun-boats, then followed the Royal George and Inflexible, towing large booms, which are to be thrown acroſs two points of land, with the other brigs and ſloops following; after them the firſt brigade in a regular line, then the Generals Burgoyne, Phillips, and Reideſel in their pinnaces; next to them were the ſecond brigade, followed by the German brigades, and the rear was brought up with the ſutlers and followers of the army. Upon the appearance of ſo

formidable a fleet, you may imagine they were not a little diſmayed at Ticonderoga, for they were apprized of our advance, as we every day could ſee their watch-boats. We had, it is certain, a very ſtrong naval force, but yet it might have been greatly in the power of the Americans to have prevented our paſſing the lake ſo rapidly as we have done, eſpecially as there are certain parts of it where a few armed veſſels might have ſtopped us for ſome time: but it is an invariable maxim with the Americans, of which there are numberleſs inſtances in the laſt campaign, never to face an enemy but with very ſuperior advantages, and the moſt evident ſigns and proſpects of ſucceſs.

The army is now aſſembling in order to commence the ſiege, as ſoon as the artillery ſtores arrive from Canada, which are daily expected. People in England, whoſe rapidity of ideas keep pace with their good wiſhes,

wiſhes, little imagine that the diſtance from this place to Canada is ninety miles, therefore the time it takes to bring forward ſtores is neceſſarily conſiderable. To the great praiſe of General Carleton, however, very little delay has yet occurred, for he forwards the ſtores very expeditiouſly, and however ill-treated many people ſuppoſe he is, or however he may conceive himſelf ſo, in not having the command of this army, after being the commander in the laſt campaign, he lets no pique or ill-will divert him from doing all the real ſervice in his power to his King and country.

In a former letter I mentioned, that we were to intrench at this place: but however meaſures may be concerted with the utmoſt judgment and precaution for ſucceeding, yet when an army has advanced to the place they are to inveſt, the General is often convinced, that neither the deſcription of others, nor the delineation of maps

and charts have been ſo perfect in every particular, as not to make ſome change in the intended diſpoſitions neceſſary, which is exactly our preſent ſituation, as orders are given out for us to embark to-morrow. What will be the future operations of the army, after the reduction of Ticonderoga, it is impoſſible to ſay, but ſome vigorous meaſures, no doubt, are to be purſued, as an extract from the General's orders will point out to you. It is generally believed, however, that the army is to force its way into Albany. The extract is as follows:

" This army embarks to-morrow to ap-
" proach the enemy. The ſervices re-
" quired of this particular expedition, are
" critical and conſpicuous. During our
" progreſs occaſions may occur, in which
" nor difficulty, nor labor, nor life are to
" be regarded. This army muſt not re-
" treat." From the laſt ſentence, it is a general and fixed opinion throughout the whole

whole army, that vigorous exertions are to be made againſt any oppoſition, however ſuperior, we may encounter. For ſuch an expedition the army are in the beſt condition that can be expected or wiſhed, the troops in the higheſt ſpirits, admirably diſciplined, and remarkably healthy.

I omitted to mention, that ſhortly after the conſultation with the Indians at the river *Bouquet*, the General iſſued out a manifeſto, which was circulated in the frontiers and province of Connecticut, calculated to ſpread terror among the moſt rebellious, to enforce upon their minds an impreſſion of fear, of the cruel operations of ſavages, whom he now could reſtrain, and their eagerneſs to be let looſe; at the ſame time, in the moſt expreſſive language, informing them, that powerful forces were co-operating, both by ſea and land, to cruſh this unnatural rebellion; inveighing ſtrongly on the conduct of the preſent

Governors and Governments here as being the cauſe of its continuance, and exhibiting, in the moſt lively manner, their injuſtice, cruelty, perſecution and tyranny; encouraging thoſe whoſe diſpoſition and abilities would aſſiſt in redeeming their country from ſlavery, and re-eſtabliſhing its former government; offering protection and ſecurity to thoſe who continued peaceable in their habitations, and denouncing all the calamities and outrages of war to ſuch as ſhould perſevere in hoſtilities. How far it may operate in this part of the continent, I have my fears, as the New-England Provinces are the moſt violent in their principles of rebellion.

During our ſtay at this place, which has been only three days, the rear of the army is come up, and the magazines and hoſpitals are eſtabliſhed, therefore the operations againſt Ticonderoga will immediately commence.

I am

I am truly ſenſible how averſe you were to my entering the army, but when once immerged, it would be folly in the extreme to ſay, that I wiſhed to retract. Although I am not an enthuſiaſt in religion, ſtill you know I ever held in the greateſt veneration the ſupreme Diſpoſer of Events, and am not inſenſible of his protecting hand, a ſoldier has many hair-breadth eſcapes; but ſhould it be the fate of war, and the will of Providence that I ſhould fall, I ſhall die with the pleaſing reflection of having ſerved my King and country. If I ſurvive, you may reſt aſſured of my embracing every opportunity to inform you of my deſtiny, and how truly I am,

Yours, &c.

LETTER XXX.

Camp before Ticonderoga, July 5, 1777.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

WE are now arrived before a place that is not more talked of this war than the laſt, on account of the memorable ſiege that then happened, in which that gallant officer was ſlain, who, could his immortal ſpirit riſe from its cold manſion, would no doubt be highly pleaſed to ſee his offspring, one placed at the head of naval line, and the other of the army, advancing the pleaſing taſk of reſtoring peace to a deluded people, led on by a ſet of

of factious men, to a moſt unnatural rebellion.

By the ſcouting parties juſt returned we learn, that there is a brigade which occupies the old French lines on a height, to the north of the fort of Ticonderoga; the lines are in good repair, with ſeveral intrenchments behind them, ſupported by a block-houſe; they have another poſt at the ſaw-mills, the foot of the carrying-place to Lake George, and a block-houſe upon an eminence above the mills, together with a block-houſe and hoſpital at the entrance of the lake.

Upon the right of the lines, between them and the old fort, are two new block-houſes, and a conſiderable battery cloſe to the water's edge. But it ſeems the Americans have employed their utmoſt induſtry where they are in the greateſt force, upon Mount Independence, which is extremely lofty

lofty and circular. On the ſummit of the mount they have a ſtar fort made of pickets, well ſupplied with artillery, and a large ſquare of barracks within it; that ſide of the hill which projects into the lake is well intrenched, and has a ſtrong abattis cloſe to the water, which is lined with heavy artillery pointing down the lake, flanking the water battery, and ſuſtained by another about half way up the hill. Fortified as the enemy are, nothing but a regular ſiege can diſpoſſeſs them.

There has been a ſkirmiſh with the Indians and a ſmall party of the enemy, who were reconnoitering, in which they were driven back into their lines; the Indians were ſo raſh as to purſue them within reach of their cannon, when ſeveral were killed and wounded. Upon the firing of their artillery, the brigade were ordered under arms, and ſhortly after the Indians brought the killed and wounded upon litters,

ters, covered with leaves. It was thought this would have been a check upon them, as the firſt that fell was of their party, but it ſeems rather to ſtimulate their valor.

As our friend M--- was looking through a braſs reflecting teleſcope at the enemy's works, he cried out ſhot, and we had ſcarcely dropt down, before we were covered with duſt. He ſaw them run out the cannon of the embraſure, and what I imagine contributed to their pointing them, was the reflection of the ſun upon the teleſcope. After they had diſcovered our ſituation, they fired ſeveral ſhot, but without doing any miſchief.

A very ſingular circumſtance has occured at this encampment. This morning, a little after day-break, the centinel of the picquet guard ſaw a man in the woods, reading a book, whom the centinel challenged, but being ſo very intent on his ſtudies,

ſtudies, he made no reply, when the ſoldier ran up to, and ſeized him; upon waking from his reverie, he told the centinel he was Chaplain to the 47th regiment, but it being a ſuſpicious circumſtance, he was detained till the ſoldier was relieved, who took him to the Captain of the picquet, from whence he was immediately ſent to General Fraſer's quarters. General Fraſer ſuppoſing it was a fineſſe, for the 47th regiment was ſtationed two or three miles in the rear, and the General thinking himſelf perfectly acquainted with every clergyman in the army, began to make ſeveral enquiries concerning the Americans, at which he was more perplexed, and ſtill perſiſted in his firſt ſtory. What greatly contributed to theſe miſtakes, the man's appearance was not altogether in his favor, being in diſhabille. General Fraſer not being able to make any thing of him, ſent him with an officer to General Burgoyne, who had no knowledge of him.

To

To clear up the matter, the Colonel of the 47th regiment was ſent for, who informed the General that he was the gentleman who had delivered a letter from General Carleton, and had only joined the regiment from Canada the preceding evening. The ſtudious gentleman little foreſaw to what dangers he had expoſed himſelf by his morning ramble, till he was ſtopped by the centinel. You will naturally think he had enough to cure him from theſe perambulations in the woods.

About three days ſince a great ſmoke was obſerved towards Lake George, and the ſcouts brought in a report, that the enemy had ſet fire to the fartheſt block-houſe, had abandoned the ſaw-mills, and that a conſiderable body was advancing from the lines towards a bridge, upon a road which led from the ſaw-mills to the right of our encampment. A detachment from our corps, ſupported by the ſecond

brigade

brigade, and ſome light artillery, under the command of General Phillips, were then ordered to proceed to Mount Hope, to reconnoitre the enemy's poſition, and to take advantage of any poſt they might either abandon or be driven from.

The Indians under the command of Captain Frazer, ſupported by his company of markſmen, (which were volunteer companies from each regiment of the Britiſh) were directed to make a circuit on the left of our encampment, to cut off the retreat of the enemy to their lines: this deſign, however, was fruſtrated by the impetuoſity of the Indians, who attacked too ſoon, which enabled the enemy to retire with little loſs. General Phillips took Mount Hope, which cut off the enemy from any communication with Lake George; after which we quitted our former encampment, and occupied this poſt, which is now in great force, there being the whole of General

neral Fraſer's corps, the firſt Britiſh brigade, and two brigades of artillery. The enemy have cannonaded the camp, but without effect, and continued the ſame the next day, while the army were employed in getting up the artillery tents, baggage, and proviſions, during which time we never fired a ſingle cannon.

This day Lutenant Twiſs, the commanding engineer, was ordered to reconnoitre Sugar-Hill, on the ſouth ſide of the communication from Lake George into Lake Champlain, part of which the light-infantry had taken poſſeſſion of laſt night; he reported this hill to have the entire command of the works and buildings, both at Ticonderoga and Mount Independence, of about 1400 yards from the former, and 1500 from the latter; that the ground might be levelled ſo as to receive cannon, and that the road to convey them, though extremely difficult, might be accom-

accompliſhed in twenty-four hours. This hill alſo commanded the bridge of communication, and from it they could ſee the exact ſituation of their veſſels; and what was another very great advantage, from the poſſeſſion of this poſt, the enemy, during the day, could not make any material movement or preparation, without being diſcovered, and even their numbers counted. Upon this report of Lieutenant Twiſs, it was determined a battery ſhould be raiſed on this poſt, for light twenty-four pounders, medium twelves, and eight inch howitzers, which very arduous undertaking is now carrying on ſo rapidly, that there is little doubt but it will be compleated and ready to open upon the enemy to-morrow morning. Great praiſe is due to the zeal and activity of General Phillips, who has the direction of this operation: he has as expeditiouſly conveyed cannon to the ſummit of this hill, as he brought it up in that memorable battle

battle at Minden, where, it is ſaid, ſuch was his anxiouſneſs in expediting the artillery, that he ſplit no leſs than fifteen canes in beating the horſes; at which battle he ſo gallantly diſtinguiſhed himſelf, by the management of his artillery, as totally to rout the French.

I am happy to embrace the opportunity of ſending this by a ſutler, who is returning down the lake to St. John's. Be aſſured you ſhall know every event of this important ſiege, by the firſt conveyance that preſents itſelf. Adieu.

Yours, &c.

LETTER XXXI.

Camp at Skeneſborough, July 12, 1777.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

NO doubt, after ſo much as I have repeatedly mentioned to you in my former letters relative to Ticonderoga, and the vigorous defence it was univerſally ſuppoſed the enemy would make, you will be greatly ſurprized to receive a letter from me, at ſo great a diſtance beyond that important poſt; fully to explain to you the manner of the Americans abandoning it, and our progreſs to this place, I muſt proceed a little methodically in my deſcription.

After

After we had gained poſſeſſion of Sugar-Hill, on the 5th inſtant, that very evening we obſerved the enemy making great fires; it was then generally thought they were meditating an attack, or that they were retreating, which latter circumſtance really was the caſe, for about day-break intelligence was brought to General Fraſer, that the enemy were retiring, when the picquets were ordered to advance, which the brigades, as ſoon as they were accoutred, were to follow.

They were ſoon ready, and marched down to the works; when we came to the bridge of communication, we were obliged to halt till it was ſufficiently repaired for the troops to paſs, as the enemy, in their abandoning the works, had deſtroyed it, and had left four men, who were, upon the approach of our army, to have fired off the cannon of a large battery that defended it,

and retire as quick as poſſible. No doubt this was their intention, as they left their lighted matches cloſe to the cannon.

Had theſe men obeyed their inſtructions, they would, ſituated as our brigade was, have done great miſchief; but, allured by the ſweets of plunder and liquor, inſtead of obeying their orders, we found them dead drunk by a caſk of Madeira. This battery, however, had, through the folly of an Indian, nearly been productive of fatal conſequences to the 9th regiment, for juſt at the time it was paſſing the bridge, as he was very curious in examining every thing that came in his way, he took up a match that lay on the ground, with ſome fire ſtill remaining in it, when a ſpark dropping upon the priming of a cannon, it went off, loaded with all manner of combuſtibles, but it fortunately happened the gun was ſo elevated, no miſchief enſued.

Shortly

In a ſhort time after the bridge was rendered paſſable, our brigade croſſed, and we advanced up to the picqueted fort, where the Britiſh colours were inſtantly hoiſted. The Americans certainly had planned ſome ſcheme, which proved abortive, and which was left perhaps to the commiſſion of thoſe men who remained behind, for the ground was ſtrewed all over with gunpowder, and there were likewiſe ſeveral caſks of it with the tops ſtruck out.

After we had remained ſome little time in the fort, orders came for the advanced corps to march in purſuit of the enemy, who, we were informed, had gone to Huberton, in order to harraſs their rear. We marched till one o'clock, in a very hot and ſultry day, over a continued ſucceſſion of ſteep and woody hills; the diſtance I cannot aſcertain, but we were marching very

expeditiouſly from four in the morning to that time.

On our march we picked up ſeveral ſtragglers, from whom General Fraſer learnt that the rear-guard of the enemy was compoſed of choſen men, commanded by a Colonel Francis, who was reckoned one of their beſt officers.

During the time the advanced corps halted to refreſh, General Reideſel came up, and after conſulting with General Fraſer, and making arrangements for continuing the purſuit, we marched forward again three miles nearer the enemy, to an advantageous ſituation, where we lay that night on our arms.

At three in the morning our march was renewed, and about five we came up with the enemy, who were buſily employed in cooking their proviſions.

Major

Major Grant, of the 24th regiment, who had the advanced guard, attacked their picquets, which were ſoon driven in to the main body. From this attack we lament the death of this very gallant and brave officer, who in all probability fell a victim to the great diſadvantages we experience peculiar to this unfortunate conteſt, thoſe of the rifle-men. Upon his coming up with the enemy, he got upon the ſtump of a tree to reconnoitre, and had hardly given the men orders to fire, when he was ſtruck by a rifle ball, fell off the tree, and never uttered another ſyllable.

The light infantry then formed, as well as the 24th regiment, the former of which ſuffered very much from the enemy's fire, particularly the companies of the 29th and 34th regiments. The grenadiers were ordered to form to prevent the enemy's getting to the road that leads to Caſtle-Town, which they were endeavouring to do, and

were repulſed, upon which they attempted their retreat by a very ſteep mountain to Pittsford. The grenadiers ſcrambled up an aſcent which appeared almoſt inacceſſible, and gained the ſummit of the mountain before them; this threw them into great confuſion, and that you may form ſome idea how ſteep the aſcent muſt have been, the men were obliged to ſling their firelocks and climb up the ſide, ſometimes reſting their feet upon the branch of a tree, and ſometimes on a piece of the rock; had any been ſo unfortunate as to have miſſed his hold, he muſt inevitably been daſhed to pieces.

Although the grenadiers had gain'd the ſummit of this mountain, and the Americans had loſt great numbers of their men, with their brave commander Col. Francis, ſtill they were far ſuperior in numbers to the Britiſh, and the conteſt remained doubtful till the arrival of the Germans, when

when the Americans fled on all ſides, whoſe numbers amounted to 2000; they were oppoſed only by 850 Britiſh, as it was near two hours before the Germans made their appearance.

General Reideſel had come to the field of action a conſiderable time before his troops, and in the courſe of the action paſſing by him, I could not help feeling for his ſituation, for the honor of a brave officer, who was pouring forth every imprecation againſt his troops, for their not arriving at the place of action time enough to earn the glories of the day.

Upon their arrival, we were apprehenſive, by the noiſe we heard, that a reinforcement had been ſent back from the main body of the American army for the ſupport of their rear-guard, for they began ſinging pſalms on their advance, and at the ſame time kept up an inceſſant firing, which

which totally decided the fate of the day; but even after the action was over, there were lurking parties hovering about the woods.

During the battle the Americans were guilty of ſuch a breach of all military rules, as could not fail to exaſperate our ſoldiers. The action was chiefly in woods, interſperſed with a few open fields. Two companies of grenadiers, who were ſtationed in the ſkirts of the wood, cloſe to one of theſe fields, to watch that the enemy did not out-flank the 24th regiment, obſerved a number of the Americans, to the amount of near ſixty, coming acroſs the field, with their arms clubbed, which is always conſidered to be a ſurrender as priſoners of war. The grenadiers were reſtrained from firing, commanded to ſtand with their arms, and ſhew no intention of hoſtility: when the Americans had got within ten yards, they in an inſtant turned round their

their muſquets, fired upon the grenadiers, and run as faſt as they could into the woods; their fire killed and wounded a great number of men, and thoſe who eſcaped immediately purſued them, and gave no quarter.

This war is very different to the laſt in Germany; in this the life of an individual is ſought with as much avidity as the obtaining a victory over an army of thouſands, of which the following is a melancholy inſtance:

After the action was over, and all firing had ceaſed for near two hours, upon the ſummit of the mountain I have already deſcribed, which had no ground any where that could command it, a number of officers were collected to read the papers taken out of the pocket book of Colonel Francis, when Captain Shrimpton, of the 62d regiment, who had the papers in his hand, jumped

jumped up and fell, exclaiming, " he was " ſeverely wounded;" we all heard the ball whiz by us, and turning to the place from whence the report came, ſaw the ſmoke: as there was every reaſon to imagine the piece was fired from ſome tree, a party of men were inſtantly detached, but could find no perſon, the fellow, no doubt, as ſoon as he had fired, had ſlipt down and made his eſcape.

About five o'clock in the afternoon, the grenadiers were ordered from the ſummit of the mountain to join the light infantry and 24th regiment, on an advantageous ſituation; in our cool moments, in deſcending, every one was aſtoniſhed how he had ever gained the ſummit.— For my own part, it appeared as if I ſhould never reach the bottom; but my deſcent was greatly retarded by conducting Major Ackland, who was wounded in the thigh.

In

In this action I found all manual exercise is but an ornament, and the only object of importance it can boast of was that of loading, firing, and charging with bayonets: as to the former, the soldiers should be instructed in the best and most expeditious method. Here I cannot help observing to you, whether it proceeded from an idea of self preservation, or natural instinct, but the soldiers greatly improved the mode they were taught in, as to expedition, for as soon as they had primed their pieces, and put the cartridge into the barrel, instead of ramming it down with their rods, they struck the butt end of their piece upon the ground, and bringing it to the *present*, fired it off. The confusion of a man's ideas during the time of action, brave as he may be, is undoubtedly great; several of the men, upon examining their muskets, after all was over, found five or six cartridges, which

which they were positive to the having discharged.

Deferring the remainder of the particulars of this action, with our march to this place, I remain

Yours, &c.

LET-

LETTER XXXII.

Camp at Skeneſborough, July 14, 1777.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

THE confuſion of the enemy on their retreat was very great, as they were neither ſenſible where they fled, nor by whom they were conducted, after Colonel Francis was killed, when they took to the mountains.

Excluſive of 200 men that were killed, and near 600 wounded, many of whom died in endeavouring to get off, the loſs on our ſide has been very inconſiderable. After the action was over, a Colonel with the

the remains of his regiment, to the amount of 230, came and ſurrendered himſelf priſoner.

The advantages of the ground was wholly on the ſide of the Americans, added to which the woods were ſo thick, that little or no order could be obſerved in advancing upon the enemy, it being totally impoſſible to form a regular line; perſonal courage and intrepidity was therefore to ſupply the place of military ſkill and diſcipline. The native bravery of our countrymen could not be more reſolutely diſplayed than in this action, nor more effectually exerted. It was a trial of the activity, ſtrength and valor of every man that fought. At the commencement of the action the enemy were every where thrown into the greateſt confuſion, but being rallied by that brave officer, Colonel Francis, whoſe death, though an enemy, will ever be regretted by thoſe who can feel for the

loſs

loſs of a gallant and brave man, the fight was renewed with the greateſt degree of fierceneſs and obſtinacy. Both parties engaged in ſeparate detachments unconnected with each other, and the numbers of the enemy empowered them to front flank and rear. Some of theſe detachments, notwithſtanding an inferiority, moſt reſolutely defended themſelves, and the fate of the day was undecided till the arrival of the Germans, who, though late, came in for a ſhare of the glory, in diſperſing the enemy in all quarters.

Having given you the particulars of this engagement, permit me, as it is the firſt I ever was in, to make my remarks in the time of conflict.

During the action, every apprehenſion and idea of danger forſakes the mind, which becomes more animated and determined the nearer the time of attack approaches.

Every ſoldier feels inſpired with an impatient ardor, as if he conceived the fate of the battle would be decided by the level of his muſquet, or the point of his bayonet: but the conflict once over, the mind returns to its proper ſenſe of feeling, and deeply muſt its ſenſibility be wounded, when the eye glances over the field of ſlaughter, where ſo many brave fellows, who a few hours before were in high ſpirits and full of the vigor of life, are laid low in the duſt, and the ear continually pierced with the deep ſighs and groans of the wounded and dying. Even the joy riſing in the boſom at the ſight of ſurviving friends and brother officers, is ſaddened by the recollection of thoſe who fell. Such, my dear friend, are the ſenſations of the mind, before and after a battle.

That ſoldiers have many hair-breadth eſcapes, I am ſure was never more fully verified

verified, than in regard to Lord Balcarres, who commands the light infantry; he had near thirty balls ſhot through his jacket and trowſers, and yet only received a ſmall graze on the hip. Others were equally as unfortunate, for upon the very firſt attack of the light infantry, Lieutenant Haggit received a ball in each of his eyes, and Lieutenant Douglas, of the 29th regiment, as he was carried off the field wounded, received a ball directly through his heart. Theſe extraordinary events may in ſome meaſure be accounted for, as the leaſt reſiſtance of a muſquet ball will give it a direction almoſt incredible: when the Surgeon came to examine the wound of a poor American, it appeared that the ball had entered on his left ſide, and having traverſed between the ſkin and the back bone, came out on the oppoſite ſide.

When General Fraſer had poſted the corps in an advantageous ſtate of defence, and made ſome log works, as he expected we ſhould be attacked, his next thoughts were, how to refreſh the men after the fatigues of the day, proviſions being unable to be forwarded, on account of the country's being very hilly; a detachment was ſent to ſhoot ſome bullocks that were running in the woods, theſe were diſtributed in ratios to the men, which they eat, dreſſed upon wood aſhes, without either bread or ſalt.

Juſt at this time chance ſupplied the officers with a very acceptable, though ſingular ſubſtitute for bread to their beef: an officer who was at Ticonderoga, by way of a joke, ſent his brother a great quantity of gingerbread that was taken at that place, which he now diſtributed among the officers, and as General Fraſer ſhared the

ſame

ſame as the men, he ſent part of it to him as a preſent.

We laid upon our arms all night, and the next morning ſent back the priſoners to Ticonderoga, amounting to near 250. A very ſmall detachment could be ſpared to guard them, as General Fraſer expected the enemy would have reinforcements from the main body of their army, and oppoſe his croſſing a wide creek, after we had paſſed Caſtletown. He told the Colonel of the Americans, who had ſurrendered himſelf, to inform the reſt of the priſoners, that if they attempted to eſcape, no quarter would be ſhewn them, and that thoſe who might elude the guard, the Indians would be ſent in purſuit of, and ſcalp them.

Leaving the ſick and wounded under the care of a ſubaltern's guard, to protect them from the Indians, or ſcouting parties of the enemy, the brigade marched to

Caſtletown, where the men were recruited with ſome freſh proviſions and a gill of rum; after this they proceeded on their march to the creek, to croſs over which the pioneers were obliged to fell ſome trees; only one man could paſs over at a time, ſo that it was near dark before the whole of the brigade had croſſed, when we had ſeven miles to march to this place.

Major Shrimpton, who I told you was wounded upon the hill, rather than remain with the wounded at Huberton, preferred marching with the brigade, and on croſſing this creek, having only one hand to aſſiſt himſelf with, was on the point of ſlipping in, had not an officer who was behind him caught hold of his cloaths, juſt as he was falling. His wound was through his ſhoulder, and as he could walk, he ſaid he would not remain to fall into the enemy's hands, as it was univerſally thought the ſick and wounded muſt. Very fortunately,

nately, however, for them, they met with no moleſtation, and three days after were conveyed in litters to Ticonderoga, as the road was impaſſable for any ſort of carriage.

After we had croſſed the creek, General Fraſer was perfectly eaſy in his mind concerning an attack, which he had been apprehenſive of the whole day, and gave orders to make the beſt of our way to this encampment, which was through a road where every ſtep we took was nearly up to the knees. After a march of near thirty miles, in an exceſſive woody and bad country, every moment in expectation of being attacked, till we had croſſed the creek, you muſt naturally ſuppoſe we underwent a moſt ſevere fatigue, both of mind and body.

For my own part, I readily own to you, that the exertions of the day had ſo far

wearied me, that drinking heartily of rum and water, I laid down in my bear-ſkin and blanket, and did not awake till twelve the next day. But that I may not fatigue you as much as I then felt myſelf, or make you fall aſleep, I ſhall conclude with ſubſcribing myſelf,

Yours, &c.

LET-

LETTER XXXIII.

Camp at Skeneſborough, July 14, 1777.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

WE are ſtill encamped at this place, waiting the arrival of proviſions, *batteaux*, and many other incumbrances, armies in general are but very ſeldom troubled with, and is a hindrance which that to the ſouthward has not to encounter, for whatever want of water carriage they meet with, the navy can always act in co-operation with them. I mention this, that you may not be ſurprized at our not making ſuch rapid marches, and over-

over-running the country, as they in all probability will.

The army are all aſſembled at this place, and in a few days the advanced corps march to Fort Edward. You would like to learn the movements of the other part of the army, after we got poſſeſſion of Ticonderoga; I was not with them, but you ſhall know what I have been able to collect.

After a paſſage had been made, with great difficulty, but with much expedition, for the gun-boats and veſſels to paſs the bridge of communication, between Ticonderoga and Fort Independence, (which had coſt the Americans much labor and expence in conſtructing) the main body of the army purſued the enemy by South Bay, within three miles of this place, where they were poſted in a ſtockaded fort, with their armed gallies. The firſt brigade

brigade was diſembarked with an intention of cutting off the enemy's retreat, but their haſty flight rendered that manœuvre uſeleſs. The gun-boats and frigates purſued the armed veſſels, and when the enemy arrived at the falls of this place, they made a defence for ſome time, after which they blew up three of their veſſels, and the other two ſtruck.

On the enemy's retreat they ſet fire to the fort, dwelling-houſe, ſaw-mill, iron-works, and all the building on this plantation, deſtroyed the *batteaux* and retired to Fort Edward.

An officer who came up at the time of the conflagration, aſſured me he never ſaw ſo tremendous a ſight; for excluſive of the ſhipping, building, &c. the trees all up the ſide of the hanging rock, had caught fire, as well as at the top of a very lofty hill.

hill. The element appeared to threaten univerſal deſtruction.

The 9th regiment was ſent to take poſt at Fort Ann, to obſerve the motion of the enemy, as well as to diſlodge them: but intelligence having been received that they had been greatly reinforced, Colonel Hill ſent word to General Burgoyne, that he ſhould not retire with his regiment but maintain his ground; the other two regiments of the brigade, with two pieces of artillery, were ordered to ſupport them, with General Phillips, who took the command; but a violent ſtorm of rain, which laſted the whole day, prevented their getting to their relief ſo ſoon as was intended, which gave the 9th regiment an opportunity of diſtinguſhing themſelves, in a moſt gallant and ſignal manner, by repulſing an attack of ſix times their number, and the enemy not being able to force them

them in front, endeavored to turn their flank, which from their great ſuperiority was much to be feared; when Colonel Hill thought it neceſſary to change his poſition in the very height of the action, which was executed with great ſteadineſs and bravery. In this manner the fight was carried on for a conſiderable length of time, the Britiſh troops maintaining their ground, and the enemy gradually retiring, were at laſt totally repulſed, and fled to Fort Edward, ſetting fire to Fort Ann, but left a ſaw-mill and block-houſe ſtanding, which was immediately taken poſſeſſion of by a party of the 9th regiment.

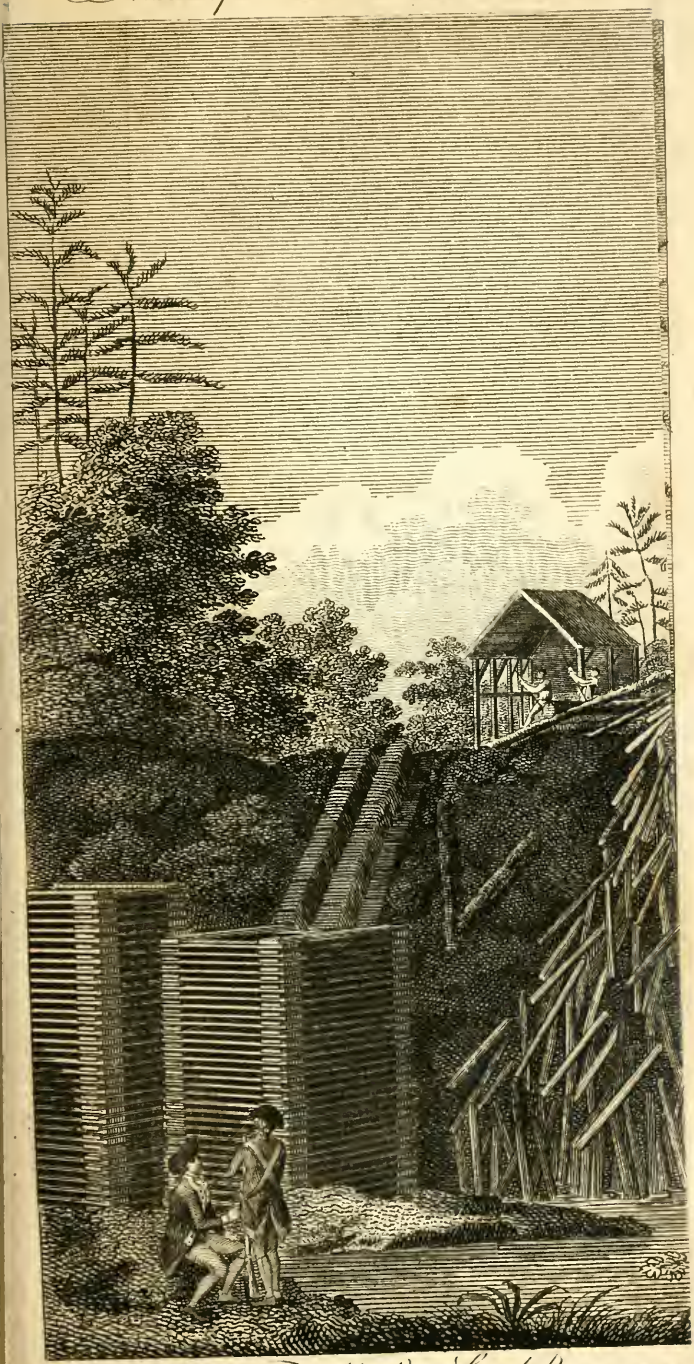
After we had abandoned this block-houſe and ſaw mills, and proceeded to Fort Edward, the enemy returned and ſet fire to it; and as you deſire me to ſend you a few drawings of ſuch things as I might think beſt

beſt worth taking a ſketch of, I have ſent a repreſentation of the block-houſe and ſaw mill, as being a very romantic view.

The 9th regiment have acquired great honor in this action; though it laſted ſo long, and was fought under ſuch diſadvantages, they have ſuſtained very little loſs. Captain Montgomery (brother-in-law to Lord Townſhend) a very gallant officer, was wounded early in the action, and taken priſoner, with the Surgeon, as he was dreſſing his wound, which happened as the regiment was changing its poſition.

During this action, that pleaſant Hibernian acquaintance of ours, M——, of the ſame regiment, was ſlightly wounded, and conveyed into the houſe with the reſt of the wounded, which had been attacked, as part of the regiment had thrown themſelves into it, for better defence during the action. Our friend M——, in endeavoring

A View of a Saw Mill & Block



Which on Genl Burgoyne
Publish'd as the Act

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A View of a Saw Mill & Block House upon Fort Anne Creek the property of Genl Skeene.

Which on Genl Burgoyne's Army advancing was set Fire to by the Americans.

Published as the Act directs 1 June 1780 by W. Lane Leadenhall Street London.

ing to comfort his fellow-ſufferers, in a blunt manner, exclaimed, " By heavens, " my good lads, you need not think ſo " much of being wounded, for by Jaſus " God there's a bullet in the beam."

As to the other part of the army, ſome remained behind at Ticonderoga, ſome employed in bringing up the *batteaux*, &c. but the whole are now aſſembled, and collected at this place.

From the various accounts we have been able to collect of the Americans, relative to their abandoning Ticonderoga, it ſeemed that upon our gaining poſſeſſion of Sugar-Hill, a poſt which they were certainly very negligent and imprudent in not ſecuring, they were greatly diſmayed, and ſeeing the preparations we were making to open a battery, which I before obſerved had the command of all their works, they called a council of their principal officers, when

when it was pointed out to them by General Sinclair, who commanded the garriſon, that their force was very deficient in numbers to man their works, and that it was impoſſible to make any effectual defence, obſerving to them that places, however ſtrong, without a ſufficient number of troops, muſt ſurrender, and that in all probability the place would be ſurrounded in leſs than four and twenty hours. In this ſituation of affairs, the General ſaw the ruin of his army, and it was his opinion that the fort ought to be abandoned to ſave the troops; that the baggage and artillery ſtores were to be ſent to Skeneſborough by water, and the troops were to march by land, by the way of Huberton, to that place. Theſe propoſals being fully approved of by the council, was the reaſon of their evacuating it that night, and hazarding the undertaking.

General

General Burgoyne foreſeeing the great difficulties of conveying even proviſions, ſetting apart baggage, has iſſued out the following orders:

" It is obſerved, that the injunction " given before the army took the field, re- " lative to the baggage of officers, has not " been complied with, and that the regi- " ments in general are incumbered with " much more baggage than they can poſ- " ſibly be ſupplied with means of convey- " ing, when they quit the lake and rivers: " warning is therefore given again to the " officers, to convey by the *batteaux* which " will ſoon return to Ticonderoga, the " baggage that is not indiſpenſibly neceſ- " ſary to them, or upon the firſt ſudden " movement, it muſt inevitably be left on " the ground. Such gentlemen as ſerved " in America laſt war may remember, that " the officers took up with ſoldiers tents,

" and often confined their baggage to a " knapſack, for months together."

Fortunately for me, my horſe has come ſafe round the lakes, which will enable me to keep the little baggage I brought with me.

The Indians, animated with our ſucceſs, have acquired more confidence and courage, as great numbers have joined the army, and are daily continuing ſo to do.

Unexpected orders being juſt given out, that Captain Gardner departs to-morrow for England, and having ſeveral more letters to write, I am obliged to leave you. Adieu.

Yours, &c.

LET-

LETTER XXXIV.

Camp at Skeneſborough, July 17, 1777.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

YOU will no doubt be ſurprized, that in my account of the proceedings of the army, every circumſtance of which ſeems to add glory and conqueſt to the Britiſh arms, that I never made mention of the ſavages, in our purſuit of the enemy from Ticonderoga; they could not, in any reſpect whatever, be drawn away from the plunder of that place, and I am afraid this is not the only inſtance in which the General has found their aſſiſtance little more than a name.

Thoſe who have the management and conduct of them are, from intereſted motives, obliged to indulge them in all their caprices and humors, and, like ſpoiled children, are more unreaſonable and importunate upon every new indulgence granted them: but there is no remedy; were they left to themſelves, they would be guilty of enormities too horrid to think of, for guilty and innocent, women and infants, would be their common prey.

This is too much the caſe of the lower Canadian Indians, which are the only ones who have joined our army; but we underſtand, within two days march, the *Outawas*, and ſome remoter nations, are on the road to join us, more brave, and more tractable, who profeſs war, and not pillage. They are under the direction of a *Monſieur St. Luc*, and one *Langdale*, both of whom were great partizans of the French laſt war; the latter was the perſon who planned and executed,

executed, with the nations he is now eſcorting, the defeat of General Braddock.

If theſe Indians correſpond with the character given of them, ſome good may be derived from their aſſiſtance; little is to be expected from thoſe with the army at preſent, but plundering.

As I hinted to you in a former letter, the General's manifeſto has not had the deſired effect, as intelligence is brought in that the committees are uſing their utmoſt endeavors to counteract it, by watching and impriſoning all perſons they ſuſpect, compelling the people to take arms, to drive their cattle and burn their corn, under the penalty of immediate death; and, ſorry am I to add, that numbers of well-diſpoſed perſons to the ſucceſs of our arms, have already undergone that fate! Hiſtory, I think, cannot furniſh an inſtance, where a war was ever carried on with ſo much

rancor, not only with thoſe who ſeem inclined to oppoſe them, but equally to thoſe who would remain neuter.

Numbers have joined the army ſince we have penetrated into this place, profeſſing themſelves loyaliſts, wiſhing to ſerve, ſome to the end of the war, ſome only the campaign, a third part of the number have arms, and till arms arrive for the remainder, they are employed in clearing the roads and repairing the bridges, in which the Americans are very expert.

We are obliged to wait ſome time in our preſent poſition, till the roads are cleared of the trees which the Americans felled after their retreat. You would think it almoſt impoſſible, but every ten or twelve yards great trees are laid acroſs the road, excluſive of ſmaller ones, eſpecially when it is conſidered what a haſty retreat they made of it. Repairing the bridges is a work

work of ſome labor, added to which, a ſtock of proviſions muſt be brought up previous to our marching to Fort Edward. We lie under many diſadvantages in proſecuting this war, from the impediments I have ſtated, and we cannot follow this great military maxim, "in good ſucceſs puſh the "advantage as far as you can."

While this part of the army is thus employed, the remainder are conveying the gun-boats, *batteaux* and proviſion veſſels into Lake George, to ſcour that lake, and ſecure the future route of our magazines; when that force is ready to move down the lake, the army will proceed to poſſeſs Fort Edward, by which means the enemy, if they do not abandon Fort George, muſt inevitably be caught, as they will be encloſed by the two armies,. During theſe movements General Reideſel is to make a diverſion into Connecticut, and reconnoitre the country, and by that feint to draw the

attention of the Americans to almoſt every quarter.

Our ſucceſſes, no doubt, muſt have operated ſtrongly on the mind of the enemy, and they will be equally as anxious to adopt meaſures for ſtopping the progreſs of our army, as to prevent the imminent danger the northern colonies are expoſed to.

On Sunday laſt a thankſgiving ſermon was preached, for the ſucceſs of our arms, after which there was a *feu de joie* fired by the whole army, with artillery and ſmall arms; the ſermon was preached by the clergyman whom I have made mention of, and an exceeding good one it was, for a pariſh church, but not in the leaſt applicable to the occaſion.

By the beſt intelligence that can be gained, we are informed, that General Schuyler is at Fort Edward, collecting the militia from

from the adjacent countries, which, with the remains of their broken army, is to form a ſufficient body for making a ſtand at this place. Their ſhattered army have ſuffered incredible hardſhips from the want of proviſions, and the neceſſaries to cover them, from the inceſſant rains that have fell of late, as they were compelled to make a week's circuit through the woods, before they could reach Fort Edward, in order to avoid the various ſtrong detachments that we had in different parts, on the Connecticut ſide.

I omitted to mention to you, that your old friend Captain H—, was wounded at the battle of Huberton, early in the action, when the grenadiers formed to ſupport the light infantry. I could not paſs by him as he lay under a tree, where he had ſcrambled upon his hands and knees, to protect him from the ſcattering ſhot, without going up to ſee what aſſiſtance could be afforded him, and

and learn if he was ſeverely wounded. You who know his ready turn for wit, will not be ſurprized to hear, though in extreme agony, that with an arch look, and clapping his hand behind him, he told me, if I wanted to be ſatisfied, I muſt aſk that, as the ball had entered at his hip, and paſſed through a certain part adjoining: he is now at Ticonderoga, and, from the laſt account, is recovering faſt.

We march to-morrow, and on our arrival at Fort Edward you may depend upon hearing from,

Yours, &c.

LET-

LETTER XXXV.

Camp at Fort Edward, Auguſt 6, 1777.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

WE are arrived at this place, in which it was thought the enemy would have made a ſtand, but upon intelligence of our advancing, they precipitately abandoned it, as they did the garriſon of Ticonderoga. Very fortunately for the garriſon of Fort George, they had paſſed this place about an hour before our arrival; had they been that much later, they muſt have been inevitably cut off.

The

The country between our late encampment at Skeneſborough and this place, was a continuation of woods and creeks, interſperſed with deep moraſſes; and to add to theſe natural impediments, the enemy had very induſtriouſly augmented them, by felling immenſe trees, and various other modes, that it was with the utmoſt pains and fatigue we could work our way through them. Excluſive of theſe, the watery grounds and marſhes were ſo numerous, that we were under the neceſſity of conſtructing no leſs than forty bridges to paſs them, and over one moraſs there was a bridge of near two miles in length.

In our march through this wilderneſs, as it may with propriety be called, we met with very little difficulty from the Americans. They ſometimes, when our people were removing the obſtructions we had continually to encounter, would attack them, but as they were only ſtraggling parties

parties, they were eaſily repulſed. The diſtance from our late encampment to this place was ſmall, but the many obſtacles the enemy had thrown in our way, made it a matter of aſtoniſhment, conſidering the laborious march we had undergone, that we ſhould arrive ſo ſoon.

On our way, we marched acroſs the Pine-plains, which derive their name from an extenſive ſpace of level country, on which grows nothing but very lofty pine-trees. On theſe plains we frequently met with the enemy's encampment, and about the center of them, upon ſome riſing ground, there were exceeding ſtrong works, defended by an immenſe abbatis, where it was thought they would wait our approach. But this poſition was not ſuited to the Americans, for if their lines were forced, their rear was an open extent of country. It is a general obſervation, that they never make a ſtand but upon an eminence, al-

moſt

moſt inacceſſible, and a wood to cover their retreat.

At this encampment the expected Indians have joined us; they ſeem to poſſeſs more bravery, and much more humanity, than thoſe who accompanied us acroſs Lake Champlain, as the following little anecdote will convince you:

A few days ſince ſeveral of them fell in with a ſcouting party of the Americans, and after a little ſkirmiſh, the enemy fled to their *batteaux*, and rowed acroſs the river. The Indians fired at, but could not reach them, and being greatly exaſperated at their making their eſcape, perceiving a hog-trough, they put their fire-arms into it, ſtripped and ſwam acroſs the river, puſhing the hog-trough before them. The Indians gained the ſhore lower down than the Americans, ſurprized and took them priſoners,

priſoners, and brought them back in the *batteaux* acroſs the river.

One of the Americans, a very brave fellow, was wounded in the ſkirmiſh, and unable to walk, when the Indians brought him upon their backs for near three miles, with as much care and attention as if he had been one of their own people.

As the Indians approached the camp, we were all apprized of their bringing in ſome priſoners, by their ſetting up the war hoop; but every one was aſtoniſhed, and as equally pleaſed at their humanity, in beholding an Indian bringing on his back the chief of the party. He was taken before General Fraſer, but would give no anſwer to any queſtion, and behaved in the moſt undaunted manner. The General imagining that by ſhewing him attention he might gain ſome information from him, ordered him ſome refreſhment,

and

and when the Surgeon had examined his wound, told him he muſt immediately undergo an amputation, which being performed, he was requeſted to keep himſelf ſtill and quiet, or a locked jaw would inevitably enſue; to this he replied with great firmneſs, "then I ſhall have the pleaſure "of dying in a good cauſe, that of gaining "independence to the American Colonies." I mention this circumſtance, to ſhew how chearfully ſome of them will ſacrifice their lives in purſuit of this favorite idol. Such was the man's reſtleſs diſpoſition, that he actually died the next morning. This death was generally regretted, as one among the very few who act from principle; had he ſurvived, a different ſtatement of the caſe might have rendered him as ſtrenuous a loyaliſt, as great a hero, as he was a ſtubborn rebel.

To thoſe who have been averſe to our employing Indians, a melancholy inſtance was

was lately afforded, that will afreſh ſharpen their arguments againſt the maxim, and as the matter will certainly be greatly exaggerated, when the accounts of it arrive in England, I ſhall relate to you the circumſtance, as it really happened, and clearly point out the misfortune not to be the effect of their natural barbarity, but a diſputed point of war.

A young lady, whoſe parents being well affected to Government, had abandoned their habitation to avoid the ill treatment of the Americans, and left their child alone in it, who, upon the approach of our army, was determined to leave her father's houſe and join it, as a young man, to whom ſhe was on the point of being married, was an officer in the provincial troops. Some Indians, who were out upon a ſcout, by chance met with her in the woods; they at firſt treated her with every mark of civility they are capable of,

and were conducting her into camp; when within a mile of it, a diſpute aroſe between the two Indians, whoſe priſoner ſhe was, and words growing very high, one of them, who was fearful of loſing the reward for bringing her ſafe into camp, moſt inhumanly ſtruck his tomahawk into her ſkull, and ſhe inſtantly expired.

The ſituation of the General, whoſe humanity was much ſhocked at ſuch an inſtance of barbarity, was very diſtreſſing and critical; for however inclined he might be to puniſh the offender, ſtill it was hazarding the revenge of the Indians, whoſe friendſhip he had to court, rather than to ſeek their enmity.

The Chief of the tribe to which the Indian belonged, readily conſented to his being delivered up to the General, to act with him as he thought proper; but at the ſame time ſaid, it was the rules of their war,

war, that if two of them at the ſame inſtant ſeized a priſoner, and ſeemed to have an equal claim, in caſe any diſpute aroſe between them, they ſoon decided the conteſt; for the unhappy cauſe was ſure to become a victim to their contention.

Thus fell a poor unfortunate young lady, whoſe death muſt be univerſally lamented. I am afraid you will accuſe me of great apathy, and conclude the ſcenes of war to have hardened my feelings, when I ſay, that this circumſtance, put in competition with all the horrors attendant on this unfortunate conteſt, and which, in all probability, are likely to increaſe hourly, is but of little moment.

The General ſhewed great reſentment to the Indians upon this occaſion, and laid reſtraints upon their diſpoſitions to commit other enormities. He was the more exaſ-

perated, as they were Indians of the remoter tribes who had been guilty of this offence, and whom he had been taught to look upon as more warlike. I believe, however, he has found equal depravity of principle reigns throughout the whole of them, and the only pre-eminence of the remoter tribes conſiſts in their ferocity.

From this time there was an apparent change in their tempers; their ill humor and mutinous diſpoſition ſtrongly manifeſted itſelf, when they found the plunder of the country was controuled; their interpreters, who had a *douceur* in the rapacity, being likewiſe debarred from thoſe emoluments, were profligate enough to promote diſſention, deſertion and revolt.

In this inſtance, however, *Monſieur St. Luc* is to be acquitted of theſe factions, though I believe he was but too ſenſible of their

their pining after the accuſtomed horrors, and that they were become as impatient of his controul as of all other: however, thro' the pride and intereſt of authority, and at the ſame time the affectionate love he bore to his old aſſociates, he was induced to cover the real cauſe under frivolous pretences of complaint.

On the 4th inſtant, at the preſſing inſtance of the above gentleman, a council was called, when, to the General's great aſtoniſhment, thoſe nations he had the direction of, declared their intention of returning home, at the ſame time demanding the General to concur with and aſſiſt them. This event was extremely embarraſſing, as it was giving up part of the force which had been obtained at a great expence to Government, and from whoſe aſſiſtance ſo much was looked for: on the other hand, if a cordial reconciliation was made with them, it muſt be by an indulgence in all

their exceſſes of blood and rapine. Nevertheleſs the General was to give an immediate anſwer; he firmly refuſed their propoſal, inſiſted upon their adherence to the reſtraints that had been eſtabliſhed, and at the ſame time, in a temperate manner, repreſented to them their ties of faith, of generoſity and honor, adding many other perſuaſive arguments, to encourage them in continuing their ſervices.

This anſwer ſeemed to have ſome weight with them, as many of the tribes' neareſt home only begged, that ſome part of them might be permitted to return to their harveſt, which was granted. Some of the remote tribes ſeemed to retract from their propoſal, profeſſing great zeal for the ſervice.

Notwithſtanding this, to the aſtoniſhment of the General, and every one belonging to the army, the deſertion took place

place the next day, when they went away by ſcores, loaded with ſuch plunder as they had collected, and have continued to do ſo daily, till ſcarce one of thoſe that joined us at Skeneſborough is left.

It is with great pleaſure I acquaint you that Major Ackland is ſo far recovered, as to aſſume his command of the grenadiers; he arrived at the camp yeſterday, accompanied by the amiable Lady Harriet, who, in the opening of the campaign, was reſtrained, by the poſitive injunction of her huſband, from ſharing the fatigue and hazard that was expected before Ticonderoga. But ſhe no ſooner heard that the Major was wounded, than ſhe croſſed Lake *Champlain* to join him, determined to follow his fortunes the remainder of the campaign.

That your partner in the connubial ſtate, ſhould you be induced to change

your ſituation, may prove as affectionate, and evince as tender an anxiety for your welfare, as Lady Harriet, on all occaſions ſhews for that of the Major, is the ardent wiſh of

Yours, &c.

LET-

LETTER XXXVI.

Camp at Fort Edward, Aug. 8, 1777.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

WE ſtill remain at this encampment, till proviſions are brought up to enable us to move forward, and notwithſtanding theſe delays in our convoys and ſtores, it will certainly be thought we remain too long for an army whoſe buſineſs is to act offenſively, and whoſe firſt motion, according to the maxims of war, ſhould contribute, as ſoon as poſſible, to the execution of the intended expedition.

I know

I know it will be the general obſervation in England, that we ought, after we had penetrated thus far, to have made our way to Albany by rapid marches, it being no more than fifty miles diſtant from this place. In this inſtance it is to be conſidered, how the troops are to paſs two great rivers, the Hudſon and the Mohawk, without *batteaux*; to form a bridge, or water-raft, to convey large bodies at once, even admitting the contrivance of a bridge of rafts to paſs the Hudſon, and truſt to chance for the paſſage of the Mohawk, or in caſe of a diſappointment, recourſe to be had to the fords at *Schenectady*, which are fifteen miles from the mouth of the river, and are fordable, except after heavy rains: removing all theſe impediments, for a rapid march the ſoldier muſt of courſe be exempted from all perſonal incumbrances, and repreſented as juſt marching from a parade in England, for nothing can be more repugnant to the ideas of a rapid march,

march, than the load a ſoldier generally carries during a campaign, conſiſting of a knapſack, a blanket, a haverſack that contains his proviſion, a canteen for water, a hatchet, and a proportion of the equipage belonging to his tent; theſe articles, (and for ſuch a march there cannot be leſs than four days proviſion) added to his accoutrements, arms, and ſixty rounds of ammunition, make an enormous bulk, weighing about ſixty pounds. As the Germans muſt be included in this rapid march, let me point out the incumbrance they are loaded with, excluſive of what I have already deſcribed, eſpecially their grenadiers, who have, in addition, a cap with a very heavy braſs front, a ſword of an enormous ſize, a canteen that cannot hold leſs than a gallon, and their coats very long ſkirted. Picture to yourſelf a man in this ſituation, and how extremely well calculated he is for a rapid march.

It may be urged, that the men might be relieved from a conſiderable part of this burthen, and that they might march free from knapſacks and camp equipage, being diveſted of which, they might have carried more proviſion. Admitting this it would not remedy the evil, it being with great difficulty you can prevail on a common ſoldier to huſband his proviſion, in any exigency whatever. Even in a ſettled camp, a young ſoldier has very ſhort fare on the fourth day after he receives his proviſion; and on a march, in bad weather and bad roads, when the weary foot ſlips back at every ſtep, and a curſe is provoked by the enormous weight that retards him, it muſt be a very patient veteran, who has experienced much ſcarcity and hunger, that is not tempted to throw the whole contents of his haverſack into the mire, inſtances of which I ſaw on ſeveral of our marches. When they thought they ſhould get freſh proviſion

ſion at the next encampment, and that only when they were loaded with four days proviſion: the ſoldiers reaſon in this manner: the load is a grievous incumbrance—want but a little way off—and I have often heard them exclaim, "Damn the proviſions, we "ſhall get more at the next encampment; "the General won't let his ſoldiers ſtarve."

Conſiſtent with the idea of rapidity, it is neceſſary to carry forward more proviſion than for bare ſuſtenance during the march, or how were the men to ſubſiſt when they arrived at Albany, where the Americans will certainly make a ſtand? but even ſuppoſing they ſhould not, they will of courſe drive off all the cattle, and deſtroy the corn and corn-mills; this can only be effected by carts, which could not keep pace with the army, there being only one road from Albany for wheel-carriage, and in many places there are deep and wide gullies,

gullies, where the bridges are broken, and muſt neceſſarily be repaired. This road is bounded on one ſide by the river, and on the other by perpendicular aſcents, covered with wood, where the enemy might not only greatly annoy, but where, in one night, they could throw impediments in our way, that would take nearly the whole of the next day to remove, therefore every idea of conveying more proviſion than the men could carry on their backs muſt ceaſe, as the time and labor in removing theſe obſtructions, and making new roads for the carts to paſs, before they could reach the army, would inevitably be the cauſe of a famine, or the army muſt retreat. All notion of artillery is totally laid aſide, as in the preſent ſtate of the roads, not the ſmalleſt ammunition tumbril could be carried with the army.

There are many who may be led away with the ideas of a rapid march, and ſay that

that artillery is uſeleſs; but they can only form their opinion from the warmth of their wiſhes. It is impoſſible to judge, or form an opinion, unleſs upon the ſpot, for, ſpeaking within compaſs, there are not leſs than a dozen ſtrong paſſes, ſetting aſide the paſſage of the Mohawk; where, if ſtrengthened with abbatis, which the Americans are expert in making, as they never encamped a ſingle night without throwing up works of this ſort in a few hours, five hundred of their militia would ſtop, for a time, ten times their number of the braveſt troops in the world, who had not artillery to aſſiſt them.

Having ſtated theſe objections to the principles and practicability of a rapid march, you cannot but be fully convinced how neceſſary it is to advance with a ſufficient ſupply of ſtores, both of artillery and proviſions; and in order to gain a great

ſupply

ſupply of the latter, as well as to provide ſome teams and oxen, a detachment is going to Bennington, to ſurprize a magazine of the enemy's, which will enable the army to proceed without delay, and its Commander to proſecute the object of his expedition.

Certainly the ſituation of the General is extremely trying, however zealouſly he is inclined, and anxious in compleating the object of his command. For one hour that he can devote in contemplating how to fight his army, he muſt allot twenty to contrive how to feed it! This inconvenience the enemy have not to encounter, as their army is ſpeedily and regularly ſupplied with every thing, by means of their navigable rivers, which communicate from province to province. An American General has only to teach his men to fight, (that's a pretty difficult taſk you'll ſay) he is never at a loſs how to feed them.

It

It is, from the various circumſtances I have ſtated, greatly to be wiſhed, that the minds of ſome men were more open to conviction, to form their opinions with the greater liberality of ſentiment.

A few days ſince I went from this to Fort George, relative to ſome artillery ſtores, at which place I had an opportunity of ſeeing Lake George, which, altho' conſiderably ſmaller than Lake *Champlain*, in my opinion exceeds it far in point of beauty and diverſity of ſcene.

About the center of the lake there are two iſlands, on the largeſt of which, called Diamond Iſland, are encamped two companies of the 47th regiment, under the command of Captain Aubrey, for the purpoſe of forwarding the proviſions acroſs the lake. This iſland, as well as the one that is cloſe to it, formerly was ſo over-run with rattle-ſnakes, that perſons when they paſſed

the lake ſeldom or ever ventured on them. A *batteaux* in ſailing up it, overſet near Diamond Iſland, and among other things it contained ſeveral hogs, which ſwam to the ſhore, as did the Canadians who were rowing it up: the latter, in apprehenſion of the rattle-ſnakes, climbed up trees for the night, and the next morning obſerving a *batteaux*, they hailed the people in it, who took them in and conveyed them to Fort George.

Some time after the man who owned the hogs, being unwilling to loſe them, returned down the lake, and with ſome comrades ventured a ſearch. After traverſing the iſland a conſiderable time, they at laſt found them, but ſo prodigiouſly fat, that they could ſcarcely move, and in their ſearch only met with one rattle-ſnake, which greatly ſurprized them, as the iſland was reported to abound. Their wonder, however, was not of long duration, for being

ſhort

ſhort of proviſions, they killed one of the hogs, the ſtomach of which was filled with rattle-ſnakes, and from this circumſtance it was natural to conclude the hogs had devoured them ſince their landing.

This was related to me by a perſon on whoſe veracity I can depend, and ſeveral of the inhabitants have informed me ſince, that if a hog happens to meet a rattle-ſnake, it will immediately attack and devour it.

As I am on the ſubject of rattle-ſnakes, and this country greatly abounding with them, permit me to deſcribe to you thoſe reptiles, which I am the better enabled to do, having ſeen one killed yeſterday. It was about a yard long, and about three inches in circumference, in its thickeſt part; it had ſeven rattles at the end of its tail, and according to the number of theſe

rattles, its age is aſcertained, every year producing an additional one, fixed by a ſmall ligament within the other, and being hollow, the quick motion of the tail occaſions a noiſe ſo peculiar to itſelf, that I cannot mention any thing ſimilar to it. The ſcales of theſe rattle-ſnakes are of variegated colors, and extremely beautiful, the head is ſmall, with a very quick and piercing eye; their fleſh, notwithſtanding the venom they are poſſeſſed of, is very delicious, far ſuperior to that of an eel, and produces a very rich ſoup.

The bite of theſe reptiles is certain death, unleſs proper remedies are applied. Providence has been ſo attentive to our preſervation (a pretty remark you'll ſay this, to come from a ſoldier, who is contributing daily his aſſiſtance to the deſtroying and maiming hundreds), that near to where theſe reptiles reſort, there grows a plant, with a large broad leaf, called *plaintain*, which

which being bruiſed and applied to the wound, is a ſure antidote to the ill effects of its venom. The virtues of this plant were diſcovered by a negro in Virginia, for which he obtained his liberty and a penſion for life.

This diſcovery, like many others equally ſurprizing, was the mere effect of chance. This poor negro having been bit by one of theſe ſnakes, in the leg, it ſwelled in an inſtant to ſuch a degree, that he was unable to walk; lying down on the graſs in great anguiſh, he gathered ſome of this plant, and chewing it, applied it to the wound, imagining it would cool the inflammation; this giving him inſtant relief, he renewed the application ſeveral times, and the ſwelling abated, ſo as to enable him to walk home to his maſter's plantation; after repeating the ſame for the ſpace of two or three days, he was perfectly recovered.

But however ſurrounded I may be with venomous reptiles, the clank of arms, and horrors of war, reſt aſſured that neither diſtance, time, nor place, can eraſe the idea of friendſhip, nor the ſweet thoughts of what is left behind ever be leſſened in the breaſt of

Yours, &c.

LET-

LETTER XXXVII.

Camp at Batten Kill, August 24, 1777.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

IT is with the utmoſt concern I tell you the expedition to Bennington has failed, and great numbers made priſoners: This no doubt will be a matter of great exultation to the Americans, and diveſt them of thoſe fears they had entertained of the German troops, eſpecially as they have been defeated by a ſet of raw militia. In this enterprize the General left nothing for chance to do, but planned every thing his wiſdom could ſuggeſt to effect it, and the project would have anſwered many

desirable ends, had the execution of it proved as fortunate as the plan was judicious.

In some former letter I laid much stress against a rapid movement, and endeavored to point out to you the total impracticability of it. I need only add another argument to impress you fully with the same sentiments. The army could no more proceed without hospital stores, than it could without provisions, for depend upon it, the General who carries troops into fire, without precautions to alleviate the certain consequences, is sure to alienate their affections, and damp their ardor; it is exacting more than human spirit is able to sustain. It is not necessary for you to be accustomed to fields of battle, to be convinced of truth; let your mind only rest for a moment on the objects that present themselves after an action, and then reflect, there is not a mattrass for broken

bones,

bones, nor a cordial for agony and faintneſs. Thoſe whoſe ideas are continually marching with a much greater rapidity than ever an army did, ſuppoſe no oppoſition, and no ſuffering from wounds. The many helpleſs and in agonies, who muſt be cruelly abandoned (ſuppoſing the reſt could be prevailed on to abandon thoſe whoſe caſe might the next day be their own) make no conſideration with men of precipitate imagination. I ſhall cloſe this ſubject with obſerving, that in my opinion, a General is reſponſible to God and his country for the armies he conducts, and that he cannot eaſily overlook theſe objects; however anxious he may be, he muſt be patient till a few hundred beds, and a proper proportion of medicine and chirurgical materials, can be brought up for troops that are to *fight* as well as *march*.

In

In order to take advantage of the ſucceſs that was expected from the expedition to Bennington, the army moved to the eaſt ſide of Hudſon's river, and on the 14th, a bridge of rafts was conſtructed, over which the advanced corps paſſed, and encamped on the heights at Saratoga.

Whatever was the cauſe of the failure of the expedition to Bennington, of which many appear, the principal one ſeems to have been the delay of the reinforcement that was ſent to ſupport the firſt detatchment, which was from eight o'clock in the morning to four o'clock in the afternoon of next day, marching two and twenty miles; the advanced corps, not only at the time the Germans were ſent, but at the failure of it, felt themſelves much hurt, thinking it was a duty they ought to have been employed on, and it was not till after its failure, that impreſſion was eraſed

eraſed from their minds, by being informed they were reſerved for more important ſervices; for in caſe that expedition had proved ſucceſsful, the advanced corps were to have puſhed forward to the heights of Still-Water, and intrenched there till the army and proviſions could have joined; by this means the whole country on the weſt ſide of the river to the banks of the Mohawk, would have been in our poſſeſſion.

A few days after we had encamped at the heights of Saratoga, the bridge of rafts was carried away by the torrents occaſioned by the late heavy fall of rain, and our communication cut off from the main body. If the enemy after the late ſucceſſes, in our preſent ſituation, had been induced to attack us, the General would have found himſelf in a very bad poſition, and unable to take a better, as the advanced corps could not be ſupported by the line; the

the only means of retreat would have been under the cover of our artillery, therefore our corps were recalled, after the action at Bennington, and were obliged to croſs the river in boats and ſcowls, and take up our old encampment at this place.

The Mohawk nation, which are called Sir William Johnſon's Indians, as having their village near his plantation, and who, in his life-time, was continually amongſt them, were driven from their village by the Americans, and have joined our army: they have come with their *ſquaws*, children, cattle, horſes and ſheep, and are encamped at the creek from whence this place takes its name; when the army croſs the river, the *ſquaws* and children are to go to Canada, and the men to remain.

Upon their arrival I viſited them at their encampment, and had an opportunity of obſerving the mode they adopt in training

training up their children. They are in a manner amphibious; there were ſeveral of the men bathing in the creek; and a number of little children, the eldeſt could not be more that ſix years old, and theſe little creatures had got into the middle of the creek upon planks, which they paddled along, ſometimes ſitting, then ſtanding on them, and if they overbalance the plank, and ſlip off with a dexterity almoſt incredible, they get on it again; as to diving, they will keep a conſiderable time under water, nearly two or three minutes.

The mode of confining their young infants, is by binding them flat on their backs to a board, and as they are ſwaddled up to their head, it makes them reſemble living mummies; this method of binding their young, I am led to imagine, is the cauſe of that perfect ſymmetry among the men. A deformed Indian is rare to be met with; the women would

be

be equally as perfect, but as they grow up, they acquire a habit, it being deemed an ornament, of ſo turning in the feet, that their toes almoſt meet; the *ſquaws*, after the have ſuckled their infants, if they fall aſleep, lay them on the ground, if not they hang the board they are ſwaddled to on the branch of a tree, and ſwing them till they do; upon a march, they tie theſe boards, with their infants, on their backs.

As the river is ſubject to continual torrents and increaſe of water, a bridge of boats is now conſtructing, to preſerve a communication with both ſides of the river, which when compleated, the advanced corps are to paſs over, and encamp at Saratoga.

I am interrupted by the cries of ſome Indians who are ſetting up the war whoop, on their bringing in priſoners.

When

When they arrive, as they imagine, in hearing of the camp, they ſet up the war whoop, as many times as they have number of priſoners. It is difficult to deſcribe it to you, and the beſt idea that I can convey is, that it conſiſts in the ſound of *whoo, whoo, whoop!* which is continued till the breath is almoſt exhauſted, and then broke off with a ſudden elevation of voice; ſome of them modulate it into notes, by placing the hand before the mouth, but both are heard at a great diſtance.

Whenever they ſcalp, they ſeize the head of the diſabled or dead enemy, and placing one of their feet on the neck, twiſt their left hand in the hair, by which means they extend the ſkin that covers the top of the head, and with the other hand draw their ſcalping knife from their breaſt, which is always kept in good order, for this cruel purpoſe, a few dextrous ſtrokes of which takes off the part that is termed the

ſcalp;

ſcalp; they are ſo exceedingly expeditious in doing this, that it ſcarcely exceeds a minute. If the hair is ſhort, and they have no purchaſe with their hand, they ſtoop, and with their teeth ſtrip it off; when they have performed this part of their martial virtue, as ſoon as time permits, they tie with bark or deer's ſinews their ſpeaking trophies of blood in a ſmall hoop, to preſerve it from putrefaction, painting part of the ſcalp and the hoop all round with red. Theſe they preſerve as monuments of their proweſs, and at the ſame time as proofs of the vengeance they have inflicted on their enemies.

At one of the Indian encampments, I ſaw ſeveral ſcalps hanging upon poles, in front of their *wigwams*; one of them had remarkably fine long hair hanging to it. An officer that was with me wanted to purchaſe it, at which the Indian ſeemed highly offended, nor would he part with this

this barbarous trophy, although he was offered ſo ſtrong a temptation as a bottle of rum.

The appearance of a dead body, you muſt allow, is not a pleaſing ſpectacle, but when ſcalped it is ſhocking; two, in this ſituation, we met with, in our march from Skeneſborough to Fort Edward. After ſo cruel an operation, you could hardly ſuppoſe any one could ſurvive, but when we took poſſeſſion of Ticonderoga, we found two poor fellows who lay wounded, that had been ſcalped in the ſkirmiſh the day before the Americans abandoned it, and who are in a fair way of recovery. I have ſeen a perſon who had been ſcalped, and was as hearty as ever, but his hair never grew again.

Should I at any time be unfortunate enough to get wounded, and the Indians come acroſs me, with an intention to ſcalp,

it would be my wiſh to receive at once a *coup de grace* with their tomahawk, which in moſt inſtances they mercifully allow.

This inſtrument they make great uſe of in war, for in purſuing an enemy, if they find it impoſſible to come up with them, they with the utmoſt dexterity throw, and ſeldom fail ſtriking it into the ſkull or back of thoſe they purſue, by that means arreſting them in flight. The tomahawk is nothing more than a ſmall hatchet, having either a ſharp ſpike, or a cup for tobacco, affixed oppoſite to the part that is intended for cutting, but they are moſtly made to anſwer two purpoſes, that of a pipe and a hatchet. When they purchaſe them of the traders, they take off the wooden handle, and ſubſtitute in its ſtead a hollow cane one, which they do in a curious manner.

I make no doubt but it will afford you great pleaſure, knowing how much you

are intereſted in my welfare, when I inform you that I have had ſome promotion, and it is the more ſatisfactory to myſelf, as I am not removed out of the advanced corps, it being into the 24th regiment. If I eſcape this campaign, either through intereſt or purchaſe, there are hopes of obtaining a company. With my beſt wiſhes for your health and happineſs, I am

Yours, &c.

LETTER XXXVIII.

Camp at Freeman's Farm, Sept. 24, 1777.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

THE bridge of boats was ſoon conſtructed, and thirty days proviſion brought up for the whole army. On the 13th inſtant, we paſſed Hudſon's river, and encamped in the plains of Saratoga, at which place there is a handſome and commodious dwelling-houſe, with outhouſes, an exceeding fine ſaw and griſt-mill, and at a ſmall diſtance a very neat church, with ſeveral houſes round it, all of which are the property of General Schuyler. This beautiful ſpot was quite deſerted,

not

not a living creature on it. On the grounds were great quantities of fine wheat, as alſo Indian corn; the former was inſtantly cut down, threſhed, carried to the mill to be ground, and delivered to the men to ſave our proviſions; the latter was cut for forage for the horſes.

Thus a plantation, with large crops of ſeveral ſorts of grain, thriving and beautiful in the morning, was before night reduced to a ſcene of diſtreſs and poverty! What havoc and devaſtation is attendant on war! Your coffee-houſe acquaintance, who fight battles over a bottle of wine, and dictate what armies ſhould do, were danger only to ſhew itſelf upon your coaſt, and threaten an invaſion, would inſtantly, like the poſſeſſors of this delightful ſpot, be flying to the moſt interior parts of the kingdom.

On the 15th the whole army made a movement forward, and encamped at a place called *Dovacote*.

I omitted to mention a ſad accident that happened to that amiable woman, Lady Harriet Ackland, a little before we paſſed Hudſon's river, which neither has altered her reſolution nor her chearfulneſs, but ſhe continues her progreſs, partaking the fatigues of the advanced corps.

Our ſituation, as being the advanced poſt of the army, was frequently ſo very alert, that we ſeldom ſlept out of our cloaths. In one of theſe ſituations a tent, in which Major Ackland and Lady Harriet were aſleep, ſuddenly caught fire; the Major's orderly ſerjeant, with great danger of ſuffocation, dragged out the firſt perſon he got hold of, which was the Major. It providentially happened, that in the ſame inſtant Lady Harriet, without knowing what

what ſhe did, and perhaps not perfectly awake, made her eſcape, by creeping under the walls in the back part of the tent, and upon recovering her ſenſes, conceive what her feelings muſt be, when the firſt object ſhe beheld was the Major, in the midſt of the flames, in ſearch of her! The ſerjeant again ſaved him, but the Major's face and body was burnt in a very ſevere manner: every thing they had with them in the tent was conſumed. This accident was occaſioned by a favorite Newfoundland dog, who being very reſtleſs, overſet a table on which a candle was burning, (the Major always had a light in his tent during the night, when our ſituation required it) and it rolling to the walls of the tent, inſtantly ſet them on fire.

On the 17th the army renewed their march, repairing a great number of bridges, and encamped on a very advantageous ground, at the diſtance of about four miles

from the enemy, who are ſtrongly poſted at Still-Water.

At our laſt encampment a circumſtance occurred, which though trifling in itſelf, marks how provident nature has been to the younger part of the brute creation. It is the cuſtom in camp to picket the horſes in the rear of the tents; in the night I was awaked with a great ruſtling of my tent cords, and a ſqueaking noiſe; on getting up, I found it was a little colt that my mare had foaled. When we reſumed our march the next day, I was much embarraſſed what to do with the colt, fearful it would weaken my mare, and render her unable to convey my baggage, but I would not have it deſtroyed; and, believe me, this little creature, only dropped the night before, though in a journey of ſuch a diſtance as ſeventeen miles, through thick woods and bad roads, was as gay and chearful, when we arrived at our encampment, as if it

it had been in a meadow, after which, you may be ſure, I could not find in my heart to make away with it.

On the 18th, the enemy appeared in force, to obſtruct the men who were repairing the bridges, and it was imagined they had a deſign of drawing us to action, in a ſpot where artillery could not be employed; a ſmall loſs was ſuſtained in ſkirmiſhing, and the repair of the bridges was effected.

At this encampment a number of men got into a potatoe-field, and whilſt gathering them, a ſcouting party of the enemy came acroſs and fired on them, killing and wounding near thirty, when they might with eaſe have ſurrounded the whole party, and taken them priſoners. Such cruel and unjuſtifiable conduct can have no good tendency, while it ſerves greatly to increaſe hatred, and a thirſt for revenge.

On

On the 19th, the army marched to meet the enemy, in three diviſions; the German line flanked the artillery and baggage, purſuing the courſe of the river through the meadows; the Britiſh line marched parallel to it at ſome diſtance, through the woods, forming the center diviſion; whilſt the advanced corps, with the grenadiers and light infantry of the Germans made a large circuit through the woods, and compoſed the right hand diviſion; on our right there were flanking parties of Indians, Canadians and Provincials.

The ſignal guns for all the columns to advance were fired between one and two o'clock, and after an hour's march, the advanced party, conſiſting of the picquets of the center column, under the command of Major Forbes, fell in with a conſiderable body of the enemy, poſted in a houſe and behind fences, which they attacked, and after much firing, nearly drove in the

body

body of the Americans, but the woods being filled with men, much annoyed the picquets, who were very fortunately ſupported by two companies of the 24th regiment, one of which happened to be our company, and a piece of artillery, which General Fraſer had detached, on hearing the fire of Major Forbes's party, and we came up juſt as the enemy fled.

In this ſkirmiſh, a bat-man of General Fraſer's reſcued from the Indians an officer of the Americans, one Captain Van Swearingham, of Colonel Morgan's Virginia rifle-men; they were on the point of ſtripping him, which the man prevented, and recovered his pocket-book from them, containing all his papers of conſequence and his commiſſion. He offered the ſoldier all his *paper* dollars, and lamented he had no *hard* ones to reward him with.

The

The bat-man brought him up to General Fraſer (who now had come up to the two companies he had detached) when he interrogated him concerning the enemy, but could obtain no other anſwer, than that their army was commanded by Generals Gates and Arnold. General Fraſer, exceedingly provoked that he could gain no intelligence, told him if he did not immediately inform him as to the exact ſituation of the enemy, he would hang him him up directly; the officer, with the moſt undaunted firmneſs, replied, "You may, "if you pleaſe." The General perceiving he could make nothing of him, rode off, leaving him in the cuſtody of Lieutenant Dunbar, of the artillery.

My ſervant, juſt at this period, arrived with my canteen, which was rather fortunate, as we ſtood in need of ſome refreſhment after our march through the woods,

woods, and this little ſkirmiſh. I requeſted Dunbar, with his priſoner, to partake of it, and ſitting down upon a tree, we aſked this Captain a variety of queſtions, to which he always gave evaſive anſwers, and we both obſerved he was in great ſpirits: at laſt I ſaid to him, "Captain, do you "think we ſhall have any more work upon "our hands to day?" to which he replied, "Yes, yes, you'll have buſineſs enough, "for there are many hundreds all round "you now." He had hardly ſpoke the words, than from a wood a little way in our front there came an exceſſive heavy fire. Dunbar ran to his guns, ſaying A——, you muſt take charge of the Captain. There being only one officer, beſides myſelf, with the company, I committed him to the cuſtody of a ſerjeant, to convey him to the houſe where the reſt of the priſoners were, with particular orders, as the General had deſired, that he ſhould not be ill treated; I then haſtened to my company,

company, on joining of which I met a number of the men who were retiring wounded, and by this time the firing of the enemy was ſuppreſſed by the artillery.

Shortly after this we heard a moſt tremendous firing upon our left, where we were attacked in great force, and the very firſt fire, your old friend, Lieutenant Don, of the 21ſt regiment, received a ball through his heart. I am ſure it will never be eraſed it from my memory; for when he was wounded, he ſprung from the ground, nearly as high as a man. The party that had attacked us were again drove in by our cannon, but the fire raged moſt furiouſly on our left, and the enemy were marching to turn their right flank, when they met the advanced corps, poſted in a wood, who repulſed them. From that time, which was about three o'clock, till after ſun-ſet, the enemy, who were continually ſupplied with freſh troops, moſt

moſt vigorouſly attacked the Britiſh line: the ſtreſs lay upon the 20th, 21ſt, and 62d regiments, moſt part of which were engaged for near four hours, without intermiſſion. The grenadiers and 24th regiment, as well as part of the light infantry, were at times engaged. In the conflict the advanced corps could only act partially and occaſionally, as it was deemed unadviſeable to evacuate the heights where they were advantageouſly poſted.

General Phillips, at a very critical period, when the Britiſh line was hard preſſed, by a great ſuperiority of fire, brought up four pieces of artillery, which reſtored the action, and gallantly led up to the 20th regiment, at the utmoſt hazard of his perſon.

General Reideſel exerted himſelf, brought up the Germans, and arrived in time to charge the enemy with great bravery.

Juſt

Juſt as the evening cloſed in, the enemy gave way one all ſides and left us maſters of the field, but darkneſs prevented a purſuit.

The troops lay that night upon their arms, and the next day took a poſition nearly within cannon-ſhot of the enemy; we have fortified our right, and our left extends to the brow of the heights, ſo as to cover the meadows, by the river ſide, where the *batteaux* and hoſpitals are placed. The 47th regiment, with the regiments of *Heſſe Hanau*, are encamped in the meadows, as a farther ſecurity.

The great valor diſplayed by the Britiſh troops encountering many obſtructions, and ſuch a powerful enemy, as, from the account of the priſoners, they had nearly treble our numbers in the field, and the great advantage of receiving inſtant reinforcements, muſt, in the eyes of thoſe who

who judge impartially, reflect the higheſt honor.

Notwithſtanding the glory of the day remains on our ſide, I am fearful the real advantages reſulting from this hard-fought battle, will reſt on that of the Americans, our army being ſo much weakened by this engagement, as not to be of ſufficient ſtrength to venture forth and improve the victory, which may, in the end, put a ſtop to our intended expedition; the only apparent benefit gained, is that we keep poſſeſſion of the ground where the engagement began.

This ſevere-fought battle, and the conſequences reſulting from it, will fully confirm the arguments I pointed out to you relative to a rapid march. The victory muſt inevitably have been on the ſide of the Americans, without our artillery, and what a wretched ſtate muſt the many brave

ſoldiers be in, without any comfort, or an hoſpital to remove them to!

The courage and obſtinacy with which the Americans fought, were the aſtoniſhment of every one, and we now become fully convinced, they are not that contemptible enemy we had hitherto imagined them, incapable of ſtanding a regular engagement, and that they would only fight behind ſtrong and powerful works.

We have loſt many brave men, and among that number is to be lamented Captain Jones, of the artillery, who was killed at his brigade of guns. The artillery of the army diſtinguiſhed themſelves greatly, but this brigade in particular, the officers and men ſtationed at thoſe guns being all killed and wounded, except Lieutenant Hadden, who had a very narrow eſcape, his cap being ſhot away as he was ſpiking up the cannon.

Having

Having juſt received orders to attend a working-party, to throw up a redoubt, I am obliged to defer a further account of this engagement till my next. It will no doubt afford you much pleaſure to hear, that in this ſevere action I have eſcaped unhurt.

Yours, &c.

LETTER XXXIX.

Camp at Freeman's Farm, Oct. 6, 1777.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

WE have gained little more by our victory than honor, the Americans working with inceſſant labor to ſtrengthen their left; their right is already unattackable. Inſtead of a diſheartened and flying enemy, we have to encounter a numerous, and, as we lately experienced, a reſolute one, equally diſpoſed to maintain their ground as ourſelves, and commanded by Generals whoſe activity leave no advantages unimproved.

The

The day after our late engagement, I had as unpleaſant a duty as can fall to the lot of an officer, the command of the party ſent out to bury the dead and bring in the wounded, and as we encamped on the ſpot where the three Britiſh regiments had been engaged, they were very numerous. In a former letter I deſcribed to you the ſenſations both before and after a battle, but in ſuch an employment, as this the feelings are rouſed to the utmoſt pitch. You that are pleaſed to compliment me on my humanity, will think what I muſt have felt, on ſeeing fifteen, ſixteen, and twenty buried in one hole. I however obſerved a little more decency than ſome parties had done, who left heads, legs and arms above ground. No other diſtinction is paid to officer or ſoldier, than that the officers are put in a hole by themſelves. Our army abounded with young officers, in the ſubaltern line, and in the courſe of this unpleaſant duty, three of the 20th regiment were interred together,

the age of the eldeſt not exceeding ſeventeen. This friendly office to the dead, though it greatly affects the feelings, was nothing to the ſcene in bringing in the wounded; the one were paſt all pain, the other in the moſt excruciating torments, ſending forth dreadful groans. They had remained out all night, and from the loſs of blood and want of nouriſhment, were upon the point of expiring with faintneſs: ſome of them begged they might lay and die, others again were inſenſible, ſome upon the leaſt movement were put in the moſt horrid tortures, and all had near a mile to be conveyed to the hoſpitals; others at their laſt gaſp, who for want of our timely aſſiſtance muſt have inevitably expired. Theſe poor creatures, periſhing with cold and weltering in their blood, diſplayed ſuch a ſcene, it muſt be a heart of adamant that could not be affected at it, even to a degree of weakneſs.

In

In the courſe of the laſt action, Lieutenant Hervey, of the 62d, a youth of ſixteen, and nephew to the Adjutant-General of the ſame name, received ſeveral wounds, and was repeatedly ordered off the field by Colonel Anſtruther; but his heroic ardor would not allow him to quit the battle, while he could ſtand and ſee his brave lads fighting beſide him. A ball ſtriking one of his legs, his removal became abſolutely neceſſary, and while they were conveying him away, another wounded him mortally. In this ſituation the Surgeon recommended him to take a powerful doſe of opium, to avoid a ſeven or eight hours life of moſt exquiſite torture: this he immediately conſented to, and when the Colonel entered the tent with Major Harnage, who were both wounded, they aſked whether he had any affairs they could ſettle for him? his reply was, "that being a minor, every "thing was already adjuſted;" but he had one requeſt, which he had juſt life enough

to utter, "Tell my uncle I died like a ſol-"dier!" Where will you find in ancient Rome heroiſm ſuperior!

Beyond the ground where we defeated our enemy, all is hoſtile and dangerous in an alarming degree; it ſhould ſeem as if we had conquered only to preſerve our reputation, for we have reaped little advantage from our invincible efforts; the only ſatisfaction reſulting on our part is, the conſciouſneſs of having acquitted ourſelves like men, with a determination that the honor and renown of the Britiſh arms ſhould remain unſullied. The nature of the country is peculiarly unfavorable in reſpect to military operations, it being difficult to reconnoitre the enemy, and to obtain any intelligence to be relied on: the roads, the ſituation of the enemy, the grounds for procuring forage, of which the army is in great want, and all parties are in queſt of, are often attended with the utmoſt

utmoſt danger, and require great bodies to cover them.

The expectation of plunder which had induced the Indians that remained to accompany us thus far, beginning now to fail, and ſeeing they have nothing but hardſhips and warfare, they are daily decreaſing. They were of vaſt ſervice in foraging and ſcouting parties, it being ſuited to their manner; they will not ſtand a regular engagement, either through the motives I formerly aſſigned, or from fear, but I am led to imagine the latter is the caſe, from the obſervation I have made of them in our late encounter with the enemy. The Indians were running from wood to wood, and juſt as our regiment had formed in the ſkirts of one, ſeveral of them came up, and by their ſigns were converſing about the ſevere fire on our right. Soon after the enemy attacked us, and the very firſt fire the Indians run off through the wood.

As

As to the Canadians, little was to be depended on their adherence, being eaſily diſpirited, with an inclination to quit as ſoon as there was an appearance of danger; nor was the fidelity of the Provincials to be relied on who had joined our army, as they withdrew on perceiving the reſiſtance of the Americans would be more formidable than had been expected.

The deſertion of the Indians, Canadians, and Provincials, at a time when their ſervices were moſt required, was exceedingly mortifying; and however it may prove, this inſtance, will ſhew future commanders what little dependence is to be placed on ſuch auxiliaries.

You will readily allow that it is the higheſt teſt of affection in a woman, to ſhare with her huſband the toils and hardſhips of the campaign, eſpecially ſuch an one as the preſent. What a trial of fortitude

fortitude the late action muſt have been, through a diſtreſſing interval of long ſuſpence! The ladies followed the route of the artillery and baggage, and when the action began, the Baroneſs Reideſel, Lady Harriet Ackland, and the wives of Major Harnage and Lieutenant Reynell, of the 62d regiment, entered a ſmall uninhabited hut, but when the action became general and bloody, the Surgeons took poſſeſſion of it, being the moſt convenient for the firſt care of the wounded; in this ſituation were theſe ladies four hours together, when the comfort they afforded each other was broke in upon, by Major Harnage being brought in to the Surgeons deeply wounded! What a blow muſt the next intelligence be, that informed them Lieutenant Reynell was killed! Madame de Reideſel and Lady Harriet could afford but little conſolation to their companions, through an anxiouſneſs they knew not how to ſmother, leſt it might be ſoon,

very

very ſoon, their own ſituation. The fears of Lady Harriet were doubly increaſed, having every apprehenſion, not only for her huſband but her brother.

Surrounded by the dead and the dying for four long hours, the groans of the wounded, the diſcharge of the muſquetry, and all the buſtle of arms—my God!—what a ſtate for women of ſuſceptibility!—uncertain how the battle would terminate, and whether each ſhould claſp again the object of her deareſt hopes, for whoſe ſake ſhe had traverſed dreary regions, encountered hunger and wearineſs, and witneſſed all the carnage of a long-diſputed field—unanimated by the tumult, and without ſharing the glory.

A long war teaches the moſt unwarlike nation the uſe of arms, and very frequently puts them in a condition to repair in the end, the loſſes they ſuſtained in the beginning.

beginning. Such is the preſent ſtate of the enemy, who not only now, but before the late action, were ſtrongly recruited, as powerful armies of militia ſpring up in every province. What a ſtriking advantage there was on the ſide of the Americans, in the laſt engagement; but the defect of numbers in our little army, was amply made up by the courage of the ſoldiers, the valor and conduct of our Generals.

The officers who have been killed and wounded in the late action, are much greater in proportion than that of the ſoldiers, which muſt be attributed to the great execution of the rifle-men, who directed their fire againſt them in particular; in every interval of ſmoke, they were ſure to take off ſome, as the rifle-men had poſted themſelves in high trees. Some of the priſoners who were taken late in the day, ſaid, it was firmly believed in the enemy's

enemy's camp, that General Burgoyne was killed, which miſtake was occaſioned by an Aid-de-Camp of General Phillips, a Captain Green, who, having the furniture to his ſaddle laced and embroidered, and being wounded, fell from his horſe, the rifle-man that wounded him, from that circumſtance, affirmed it to be General Burgoyne.

You would be led to imagine, that the Indians and Canadians would have been of great utility againſt this mode of fighting, but the few who remained of the former, could not be brought within ſound of a rifle-ſhot; and the latter, who formerly were very expert in this ſervice, either from a great change in their military character, or a damp that was thrown upon them by the loſs of their beſt officers, who were under the neceſſity of expoſing themſelves more than was requiſite, in order to bring them at all into action, were of little uſe.

Some

Some of the Provincial troops were ſerviceable, but the only men we had really to oppoſe them were the German chaſſeurs, but their number was very inferior to the rifle-men of the enemy.

Our preſent ſituation is far from being an inactive one, the armies being ſo near, that not a night paſſes but there is firing, and continual attacks upon the advanced picquets, eſpecially thoſe of the Germans. It ſeems to be the plan of the enemy to harraſs us by conſtant attacks, which they are enabled to do, without fatiguing their army, from the great ſuperiority of their numbers.

We are now become ſo habituated to fire, that the ſoldiers ſeem to be indifferent to it, and eat and ſleep when it is very near them; the officers reſt in their cloaths, and the field officers are up frequently in the night. The enemy, in front of our quar-

ter

ter-guard, within hearing, are cutting trees and making works, and when I have had this guard, I have been viſited by moſt of the field officers, to liſten to them. You would ſcarcely believe it, but the enemy had the aſſurance to bring down a ſmall piece of cannon, to fire as their morning gun, ſo near to our quarter-guard, that the wadding rebounded againſt the works.

We have within theſe few evenings, excluſive of other alarms, been under arms moſt of the night, as there has been a great noiſe, like the howling of dogs, upon the right of our encampment; it was imagined the enemy ſet it up to deceive us, while they were meditating ſome attack. The two firſt nights this noiſe was heard, General Fraſer thought it to have been the dogs belonging to the officers, and an order was given for the dogs to be confined within the tents; any that were ſeen running about, the Prevoſt had orders to hang them.

The

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The

View of the West Bank *of the* Hudson's River *3 Miles above Still Water,* upon which *the* Army *under the command of* Lt. General Burgoyne, *took post on the 20th Sep.r 1777.*

(Shewing General Frazer's *Funeral.)*

Published as the Act directs, Jan.y 1.st 1789, by William Lane, Leadenhall Street, London.

The next night the noiſe was much greater, when a detachment of Canadians and Provincials were ſent out to reconnoitre, and it proved to have ariſen from large droves of wolves that came after the dead bodies: they were ſimilar to a pack of hounds, for one ſetting up a cry, they all joined, and when they approached a corpſe, their noiſe was hideous till they had ſcratched it up.

I have ſent you a view of the encampment of our hoſpital tents, park of artillery, &c. from a redoubt we have on the oppoſite ſide of the river, by which you may be able to form ſome idea of the country we are at preſent encamped on. This view was taken by Sir Francis Clerke, one of General Burgoyne's Aid-de-Camps, who has favored me with a copy.

Yours, &c.

LETTER XL.

Cambridge, in New England, Nov. 10, 1777.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

THE diſpatches ſent by Lord Peterſham, relative to our misfortunes, will have reached England long before this comes to hand. Your ſurprize, then, will ceaſe at receiving a letter dated from this place. As every little circumſtance relative to a campaign, cannot be given in an official account to be laid before the public, I ſhall relate the tranſactions of the army till the convention took place.

The

The day after the date of my laſt letter, a detachment of 1500 regular troops, with two twelve-pounders, two howitzers, and ſix ſix-pounders, went out between eleven and twelve o'clock. The reaſon, no doubt, for the General's marching at this time, rather than earlier in the morning, was, that in caſe we ſhould not prove victorious, he had the night to favor his retreat.

The intention of this detachment was to make a movement to the enemy's left, not only to diſcover whether there was a poſſibility of forcing a paſſage, if neceſſary to advance, or diſlodge the enemy, in order to favor a retreat, but likewiſe to cover the forage of the army, through the ſcarcity of which we were in great diſtreſs. This being a project of much importance, General Burgoyne took with him Generals Phillips, Reideſel and Fraſer, as officers beſt qualified, and with whoſe aſſiſtance he had every hope the plan would ſucceed.

The guard of the camp upon the heights was left to the command of Brigadier Generals Hamilton and Specht, and the redoubts and plain to Brigadier General Gall.

This day having the quarter-guard of the regiment, I of courſe remained in camp, and therefore can give you no information as to the various poſitions that were taken; after the detachment had been out ſome time, we heard a very heavy firing with the artillery, and ſome little ſkirmiſhing with ſmall arms.

At this time Major Campbell, of the 29th regiment, the Field-officer of the day, came to my guard, and deſired me to go with a ſerjeant and ſome men, to reconnoitre acroſs two ravines, in front of the guard, to liſten if I could hear the enemy marching that way; all was quiet in that quarter, but as the firing began to be very heavy

heavy on the left, I returned to the guard. In this little circuit I was convinced how much the Americans were puſhed in our late action, on the 19th of September, for I met with ſeveral dead bodies belonging to the enemy, and amongſt them were laying cloſe to each other, two men and a woman, the latter of whom had her arms extended, and her hands graſping cartridges.

Soon after my return to the guard, the firing appeared to become general on both ſides, and very heavy indeed. Much about this time the bat-men of the army, who went out for forage, came galloping into camp, having thrown off their forage to ſave their own horſes and themſelves by flight. The gallant behaviour of an old ſoldier, of the 20th regiment, deſerves to be remembered; he had been wounded at the battle of Minden, and as he lay on the ground a French dragoon rode over him,

and the horſe's feet reſted on his breaſt; after having recovered from this accident, he thought himſelf invulnerable, and held the Americans in great contempt: when they attacked the foraging party, the hardy old veteran, ſitting upon the forage which he had got on the horſe, kept loading and firing his piece at the enemy, and in this manner he brought his forage into camp. Upon his arrival, his maſter reprimanded him for the danger he had expoſed both himſelf and his horſes to, (when he ſaid) "May it pleaſe your honor, "I could not throw away my forage, I'd "ſooner loſe my life, than my poor horſes "ſhould ſtarve."

You muſt allow this defeat of the batmen, and a number of wounded men coming into camp, was no very favorable omen of ſucceſs; nor can you conceive the ſorrow viſible on General Fraſer's being brought

brought in wounded, your old friends Campbell and Johnſton, of our regiment, on each ſide of his horſe, ſupporting him. I cannot deſcribe to you the ſcene; it was ſuch that the imagination muſt help to paint.——The officers, all anxious and eagerly enquiring as to his wound—the down-caſt look and melancholy that was viſible to every one, as to his ſituation, and all the anſwer he could make to the many enquiries, was a ſhake of his head, expreſſive that it was all over with him.—So much was he beloved, that not only officers and ſoldiers, but all the women flocked round, ſolicitous for his fate.

When he had reached his tent, and was recovered a little from the faintneſs occaſioned by loſs of blood, he told thoſe around him, that he ſaw the man who ſhot him, he was a rifle-man, and up in a tree; the ball entered a little below his

breaſt, and penetrated juſt below the back bone. After the Surgeon had dreſſed his wound, he ſaid to him very compoſedly, "Tell me, Sone, to the, beſt "of your ſkill and judgment, if you "think my wound is mortal." When he replied, "I am ſorry, Sir, to inform you, "that it is, and that you cannot poſſibly "live four and twenty hours." He then called for pen and ink, and after making his will, and diſtributing a few little tokens of regard to the officers of his ſuite, deſired that he might be removed to the general hoſpital.

In camp, and not in perſonal danger, as the mind is left to reflection, it is impoſſible to deſcribe how much it is affected in beholding the wounded continually coming in, amid an inceſſant roar of cannon and muſquetry, where perhaps many brave fellows are dying for their country—perhaps too

too in an unſucceſsful battle! I can never conſent to be left in camp again.

After many hours impatient anxiety, towards the cloſe of the evening, the grand ſtroke came. I had little hope to become a partaker in the action; but about that time the troops came pouring into camp as faſt as they could, and ſhortly after Generals Burgoyne, Phillips and Reideſel. It is impoſſible to deſcribe the anxiouſneſs depicted in the countenance of General Burgoyne, who immediately rode up to the quarter-guards, and when he came to that of our regiment, I was acroſs a ravine, poſting a ſerjeant's guard. Upon enquiring eagerly for the officer, I came to him, "Sir, ſaid the General, you muſt defend "this poſt to the very laſt man." You may eaſily conceive, upon receiving thoſe orders, I judged every thing to be in a dangerous ſituation. There was not a moment for thought, for the Americans ſtormed

ſtormed with great fury the poſt of the light-infantry, under the command of Lord Balcarres, ruſhing cloſe to the lines, under a ſevere fire of grape-ſhot and ſmall arms. This poſt was defended with great ſpirit, and the enemy, led on by General Arnold, as gallantly aſſaulted the works; but on the General's being wounded, the enemy were repulſed, which was not till after dark. In this attack, I was but an obſerver, as our quarter-guard was ſome diſtance from the lines, but not ſufficiently ſo as to be out of danger, as the balls were continually dropping down amongſt us. In order that you may form ſome idea with what obſtinacy the enemy aſſaulted the lines, from the commencement, at which time it was dark, till they were repulſed, there was a continual ſheet of fire along the lines, and in this attack we were fully convinced of what eſſential ſervice our artillery was.

During

During the time the enemy were ſo vigorouſly attacking our lines, a party aſſaulted thoſe of the Germans, commanded by Colonel Breyman, but either for want of courage, or preſence of mind, they, upon the firſt attack of the enemy, were ſtruck with ſuch a terror, that inſtead of gallantly ſuſtaining their lines, they looked on all as loſt, and after firing one volley, haſtily abandoned them; that brave officer, Colonel Breyman, in endeavouring to rally his ſoldiers, was unfortunately killed. By the enemy's obtaining poſſeſſion of the German lines, they gained an opening upon our right and rear.

In this engagement we loſt many brave officers, to add to the fate of General Fraſer, General Burgoyne's, Aid-de-Camp, Sir Francis Clerke, was killed, Colonel Ackland wounded and a priſoner, Major Williams, Captain Blomfield, and Lieutenant Howarth, of the artillery, were likewiſe

likewiſe priſoners, the latter wounded; Major Blomfield's wound was very remarkable, a ſhot paſſing through both cheeks, without hurting the inſide of his mouth. Your friend Howarth's wound I hear, is in his knee; it is very ſingular, but he was prepoſſeſſed with an idea of being wounded, for when the orders came for the detachment's going out, he was playing picquet with me, and after reading the orders, and that his brigade of guns were to go, he ſaid to me, "God bleſs you "A——, farewell, for I know not how it "is, but I have ſtrange *preſentiment* that I "ſhall either be killed or wounded." I was rather ſurprized at ſuch an expreſſion, as he is of a gay and chearful diſpoſition, and cannot but ſay, that during the little time I could beſtow in reflection that day, I continually dwelt upon his remark, but he is now happily in a fair way of recovery.

After

After Major Ackland was wounded, when he obſerved the army were retreating, he requeſted Captain Simpſon, of the 31ſt regiment, who was an intimate friend, to help him into camp, upon which, being a very ſtout man, he conveyed the Major on his back a conſiderable way, when the enemy purſuing ſo rapidly, he was obliged to leave him behind to ſave himſelf. As the Major lay on the ground, he cried out to the men who were running by him, that he would give fifty guineas to any ſoldier who would convey him into camp. A ſtout grenadier inſtantly took him on his back, and was haſtening into camp, when they were overtaken by the enemy and made priſoners. Here you muſt naturally conceive what were the feelings of Lady Harriet, who, after hearing the whole of the action, at laſt received the ſhock of her individual misfortune, mixed with the general calamity of the defeat.

Whatever

Whatever favorable opinion the General had entertained of our late encampment, after this attack he thought our flank liable to be turned, and it would be impoſſible to accompliſh an honorable retreat, fearing the only ſecurity of the army would conſiſt in an ignominious flight, as our works would by no means reſiſt cannon-ſhot. Before we quitted them, we heard the enemy bringing up their artillery, no doubt with a view to attack us at day-break; therefore, laboring under theſe apparent diſadvantages, we had orders to quit our preſent ſituation during the night, and take poſt upon the heights, above the hoſpital; by this movement the whole of the army were now aſſembled upon the heights and plain, of which you have a view in the drawing I ſent you.

Our late movement, which was effected without any loſs, occaſioned the enemy to make a new diſpoſition, and on the

the 8th of October, the baggage and incumbrances of the army being removed, we offered battle, anxious for a conflict in a plain, where we could diſcern our enemy, as hitherto all our actions had been in the woods, where it is impoſſible exactly to preſcribe to an army, or ſeparate body, how to govern itſelf; every different motion of the enemy, and the various accounts a General receives of them, ought to make him alter his meaſures, and there is no laying down to a commanding officer of any corps, other than general rules, the reſt depending on his own conduct, and the behaviour of his troops.

At one time we fully imagined it was the intention of the enemy to have attacked us, as a very large body, conſiſting of ſeveral brigades, drew up in line of battle, with artillery; and began to cannonade us. In return, an howitzer was fired, and, as was intended, the ſhell fell

ſhort,

ſhort, upon which the enemy ſetting up a great ſhout, were very much encouraged, and kept on cannonading. The next time the howitzer was ſo elevated, that the ſhell fell into the very center of a large column, and immediately burſt, which ſo diſmayed them, that they fled off into the woods, and ſhewed no other intentions of an attack; indeed their cautious conduct during the whole day ſtrongly marked a diſinclination to a general action.

Early on this morning General Fraſer breathed his laſt, and at his particular requeſt, was buried, without any parade, in the great redoubt, by the ſoldiers of his own corps. About ſun-ſet, the corpſe was carried up the hill; the proceſſion was in view of both armies; as it paſſed by Generals Burgoyne, Phillips and Reideſel, they were ſtruck at the plain ſimplicity of the parade, being only attended by the officers of his ſuite; but left the army, not

not being acquainted with the privacy that was desired, and construe it into neglect, and urged by a natural wish to pay the last honors to him, in the eyes of the whole army, they joined the procession.

The enemy, with an inhumanity peculiar to Americans, cannonaded the procession as it passed, and during the service over the grave. The account given me by your friend Lieut. Freeman was, that there appeared an expressive mixture of sensibility and indignation upon every countenance—the scene must have been affecting.

In the evening intelligence was brought that the enemy were marching to turn our right; we could prevent this by no other means than retreating towards Saratoga. A retreat is a matter of the highest consequence, and requires the greatest conduct in a General, as well as resolution in both officers and soldiers, for the least misma-

nagement puts all into confuſion. A good retreat is looked on as the *chef d'œuvre* of a Commander. Every one of the advanced corps felt ſeverely the loſs of General Fraſer, as he uſed frequently to ſay, that if the army had the misfortune to retreat, he would enſure, with the advanced corps, to bring it off in ſafety; this was a piece of Generalſhip he was not a little vain of, for during the war in Germany, he made good his retreat with five hundred chaſſeurs, in ſight of the French army. But as covering the retreat of the army was of the utmoſt conſequence, General Phillips took the command of the rear-guard, which conſiſted of the advanced corps.

At nine o'clock at night the army began to move, General Reideſel commanding the van-guard. Our retreat was made within muſquet-ſhot of the enemy, and though greatly encumbered with baggage, without

without a ſingle loſs. It was near eleven o'clock before the rear-guard marched, and for near an hour, we every moment expected to be attacked, for the enemy had formed on the ſame ſpot as in the morning; we could diſcern this by the lanterns that the officers had in their hands, and their riding about in the front of their line, but though the Americans put their army in motion that night, they did not purſue us, in our retreat, till late the next day. Deferring the ſequel of our misfortunes till another opportunity, and willing to embrace a very favorable one that now preſents itſelf of ſending this, I remain,

Yours, &c.

LETTER XLI.

Cambridge, in New England Nov. 15, 1777.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

AFTER a march, in which we were liable to be attacked in front, flank and rear, the army, on the 9th, at day-break, reached an advantageous ground, and took a poſition very deſirable to have received the enemy; we halted to refreſh the troops, and to give time for the *batteaux* to come abreaſt of the army. A few days proviſion was delivered out, and it was apprehended it might be the laſt, for though the movement of the army kept pace with the *batteaux*, ſtill there were many

many parts of the river where they might have been attacked to great advantage, and where the army could afford them little protection.

After the troops had been refreſhed, and the *batteaux* came up, the army proceeded forward, in very ſevere weather, and thro' exceeding bad roads, and late at night arrived at Saratoga, in ſuch a ſtate of fatigue, that the men had not ſtrength or inclination to cut wood and make fires, but rather ſought ſleep in their wet cloaths and on the wet ground, under a heavy rain that ſtill continued, and which began to fall when we firſt retreated.

The inceſſant rain during our retreat was rather a favorable circumſtance, for though it impeded the army in their march, and increaſed its difficulties, it ſerved at the ſame time to retard, and in a great meaſure prevented, the purſuit of the enemy;

it however occaſioned one very unhappy neceſſity, that of abandoning our hoſpitals with the ſick and wounded: but great praiſe is due to the humanity of General Gates, for upon the very firſt intelligence of it, he immediately ſent forward a few light horſe, to protect them from inſult and plunder.

The heavy rain afforded another conſolation to the men during the march, which was, in caſe the enemy had attacked us, the fate of the day would have reſted ſolely upon the bayonet: this idea prevailed ſo ſtrongly in the minds of the men, that notwithſtanding they were acquainted with the ſuperiority of the enemy, an attack ſeemed to be the wiſh of every ſoldier.

When the army were about to move after we halted, the cares and anxieties with which the General, no doubt, muſt have been ſurrounded, were greatly increaſed

creaſed by a circumſtance of private diſtreſs, for at this time a meſſage was delivered to him from that amiable woman, Lady Harriet Ackland, expreſſing an earneſt deſire, if it did not militate againſt the General's wiſhes, of paſſing to the camp of the enemy, and requeſting General Gates's permiſſion to attend her huſband, at the ſame time ſubmitting it entirely to the General's opinion.

The General, although he had been fully convinced of the patience and fortitude with which ſhe had already encountered the many trying ſituations that had befallen her, could not but expreſs his aſtoniſhment at this propoſal, as it appeared an effort beyond human nature, that a woman of ſuch a tender and delicate frame as her's, ſhould be capable of ſuch an undertaking as that of delivering herſelf to the enemy—probaby in the night, and uncertain of what hands ſhe might fall into—

eſpecially after ſo long an agitation of the ſpirits, not only exhauſted by want of reſt, but abſolutely want of food, and drenched in rains for near twelve hours—and this at a time too, when far advanced in a ſtate where every tender care and precaution becomes abſolutely requiſite!——In the harraſſed and fatigued ſituation ſhe was in, it was no little chagrin to the General, that he could afford her no aſſiſtance to cheer up her ſpirits for ſuch an undertaking; he had not even a cup of wine to offer her—but from a ſoldier's wife ſhe obtained a little rum and dirty water! With this poor refreſhment ſhe ſet out in an open boat, which was furniſhed by the General, with a few lines of recommendation to General Gates, for his protection. The Chaplain that officiated at General Fraſer's funeral undertook to accompany her, and with her waiting-maid, and the Major's *valet de chambre* (who then had a ball in his ſhoulder, which he received in the late action,

in

in ſearching for the Major after he was wounded) ſhe rowed down the river to meet the enemy.——But to return to the army.

It was not till after day-light, on the morning of the 10th, that the artillery and the laſt of the troops paſſed the Fiſh-Kill, and took poſition upon the heights and in the redoubts we had formerly conſtructed. On our arrival at Saratoga, a corps of the enemy, between five and ſix hundred, were diſcovered throwing up intrenchments on the heights, but upon our approach retired over the ford of the Hudſon's river, and joined a body poſted to oppoſe our paſſage there.

A detachment of artificers, under a ſtrong eſcort, were ſent to repair bridges, and open a road on the weſt ſide of the river to Fort Edward; but the enemy being ſtrongly poſted on the heights of the Fiſh-Kill,

Kill, and making a diſpoſition to give us battle, that eſcort was recalled. The Provincials who were left to cover the artificers, upon a very ſlight attack ran away, leaving them to eſcape as they could, without a poſſibility of their performing any work.

While theſe different movements were carrying on, the *batteaux* with proviſions were frequently fired upon from the oppoſite ſide of the river, ſome of them were loſt, and ſeveral men killed and wounded in thoſe that remained.

On the 11th the enemy continued the attacks upon the *batteaux*, ſeveral were taken and retaken, but their ſituation being nearer to the main force of the enemy than to ours, it was judged neceſſary to land the proviſions, and ſend them up the hill, as it was impoſſible to ſecure them by any other means: this was effected

under

under a heavy fire, and with the greateſt difficulty.

The intentions of the enemy became now very apparent, and no doubt General Gates thought he ſhould be able to gain more advantage from the ſituation and circumſtances of our army, by cutting off our proviſions, and otherwiſe harraſſing and diſtreſſing us, by the galling fire of the riflemen, who were every where placed about in the woods, than by giving us battle, and running the chance of a victory.

The poſſible means of farther retreat were conſidered in a council of war, compoſed of the General officers; and the only one that ſeemed expedient, or in the leaſt practicable, was attended with ſuch danger, as afforded little hopes of ſucceſs, but nevertheleſs the reſolve was it ſhould be attempted. This was by a night march to Fort Edward,

ward, the troops carrying their proviſions on their backs, leaving artillery, baggage, and other incumbrances behind, and to force a paſſage at the ford, either above or below that fort.

While the army were preparing for this bold and reſolute undertaking, ſome ſcouts returned with intelligence, that the enemy were ſtrongly intrenched oppoſite thoſe fords, and poſſeſſed a camp in force on the high grounds, between Fort Edward and Fort George, with cannon; excluſive of which, they had parties down the whole ſhore to watch our motions, and ſome poſts ſo near us, on our ſide of the water, that it was impoſſible the army could make the leaſt motion without being diſcovered.

Notwithſtanding the number of the Americans, which was hourly increaſing, General Gates acted with as much precaution as if the ſuperiority was on our ſide,

as

as the ground where he encamped was, from its nature and the works he had thrown up, inattackable.

Our march to Fort Edward being thus prevented, the army was poſted as well as the ground would admit of, fortifying our camp, and preparing for any attempt that the enemy, from our reduced ſtate, might be induced to make.

The ſtate and ſituation of our army was truly calamitous!—Worn down by a ſeries of inceſſant toils and ſtubborn actions; abandoned in our utmoſt diſtreſs by the Indians; weakened by the deſertion, and diſappointed as to the efficacy of the Canadians and Provincials, by their timidity; the regular troops reduced, by the late heavy loſſes of many of our beſt men and diſtinguiſhed officers, to only 3500 effective men, of which number there were not quite 2000 Britiſh:—in this ſtate of weakneſs

neſs, no poſſibility of retreat, our proviſions nearly exhauſted, and inveſted by an army of four times our number, that almoſt encircled us, who would not attack us from a knowledge of our ſituation, and whoſe works could not be aſſaulted in any part. In this perilous ſituation the men lay continually upon their arms, the enemy inceſſantly cannonading us, and their rifle and cannon ſhot reaching every part of our camp.

True courage ſubmits with great difficulty to deſpair, and in the midſt of all thoſe dangers and arduous trials, the valor and conſtancy of the Britiſh troops were aſtoniſhing: they ſtill retained their ſpirits, in hopes that either the long-expected relief would arrive from New-York, which the army implicitly believed, from an order that had been given out at our camp at Still-Water, ſtating that powerful armies were to act in co-operation with

with ours, or that the enemy would attack us, which was moſt fervently wiſhed for, as it would have given us an opportunity of dying gallantly, or extricating ourſelves with honor.

After waiting the whole of the 13th day of October, in anxious expectation of what it would produce, and to which time it had been reſolved to endure all extremities in maintaining our ground againſt the enemy—no proſpect of aſſiſtance appearing, and no rational ground of hope remaining, it was thought proper, in the evening, to take an exact account of the proviſions left, which amounted to no more than three days ſhort allowance.

In this ſtate of diſtreſs, a council of war was called, to which all the Generals, Field-officers, and commanding-officers of corps were ſummoned, when it was unanimouſly agreed, that in the preſent circumſtances

we

we could do no other than treat with the enemy.

Overtures were accordingly propoſed to General Gates, who harſhly rejected them, reminding us of our enervated ſtate, from a toilſome campaign, diminiſhed numbers, ſcanty ſubſiſtence, and the impoſſibility of freſh ſupply. Theſe reaſons were urged on the ſpur of the moment, minute conſideration denied, and a deciſive anſwer required. We felt their force, but compliance was never thought of, it would have too ſeverely wounded the dignity of our military character.

The refuſal of our overtures was mortifying in the extreme, yet inſtead of depreſſing, it raiſed our magnanimity; the interval of ſuſpence, indeed, diſturbed our repoſe; anxiety was awake to conſequences—ſtill we adhered to our purpoſe with manly firmneſs. A ſtate of ſuſpence, to a reflecting

ing mind, is worſe than death; that was our ſtate till the convention was finally adjuſted.

The obſtacles to the accompliſhment of the convention at firſt appeared inſurmountable, for General Gates conceived that our complicated embarraſſments ſufficiently juſtified him, according to the rules of war, in inſiſting on an unconditional ſurrender of the army: they were diſdainfully rejected, and he was peremptorily informed, that notwithſtanding our reduced numbers, if he ſtill perſiſted, our final appeal ſhould be to the ſword, as the Britiſh troops would ruſh upon the enemy, determined to give no quarter.

General Gates, from having been once in our ſervice, was fully convinced of what exertions Britiſh troops were capable, in any dangerous emergency; he was therefore quickly ſenſible of the impolicy of

coercion, and with very great prudence declined hazarding a freſh conflict with men who preferred death to a diſgraceful ſubmiſſion. Awed by our firmneſs, he retracted his demands, and honorable terms were granted; the particulars, as they are undoubtedly in the Gazette, I ſhall of courſe paſs over.

To a reverſe of fortune we yielded with becoming dignity, but our honor was ſafe, and equanimity of temper marked our character, even in adverſity.

General Burgoyne has done every thing in this convention for the good of the troops, conſiſtent with the ſervice of his King and country: all that wiſdom, valor, and a ſtrict ſenſe of honor could ſuggeſt. Confident, no doubt, of having exerted himſelf with indefatigable ſpirit in their ſervice, he will deſpiſe popular clamor, truly ſenſible that no perfect and unbiaſſed judge

of

of actual ſervice can condemn him. Addiſon has ſomewhere obſerved,

" 'Tis not in mortals to command ſucceſs !"

And as the populace, in this verſatile age ſtartle at untoward events, ſo our General is liable to be expoſed to public cenſure. Ample juſtice muſt raiſe him in the mind of every liberal man who will judge with caution, acquit him with honor, and take him to his heart as the ſoldier's friend——as a man of cool judgment, but ardent for glory——as courageous but unfortunate !

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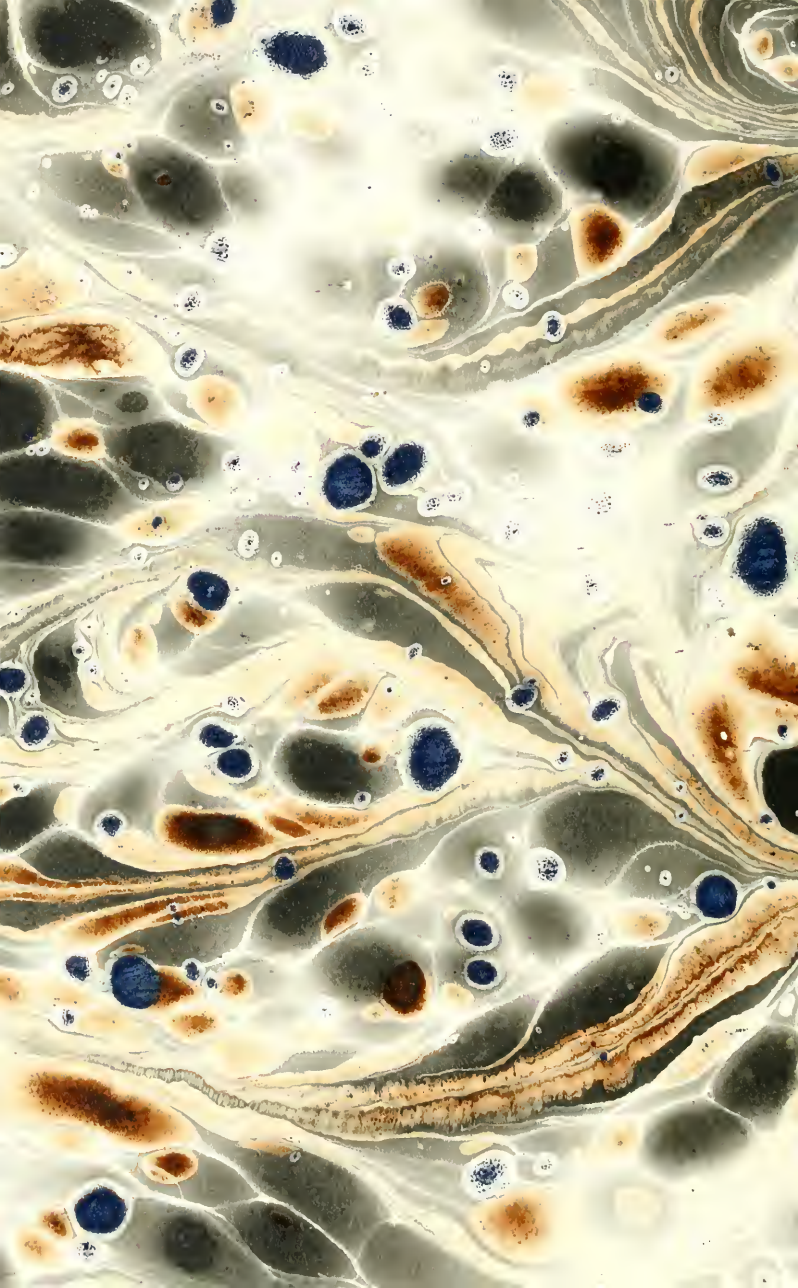
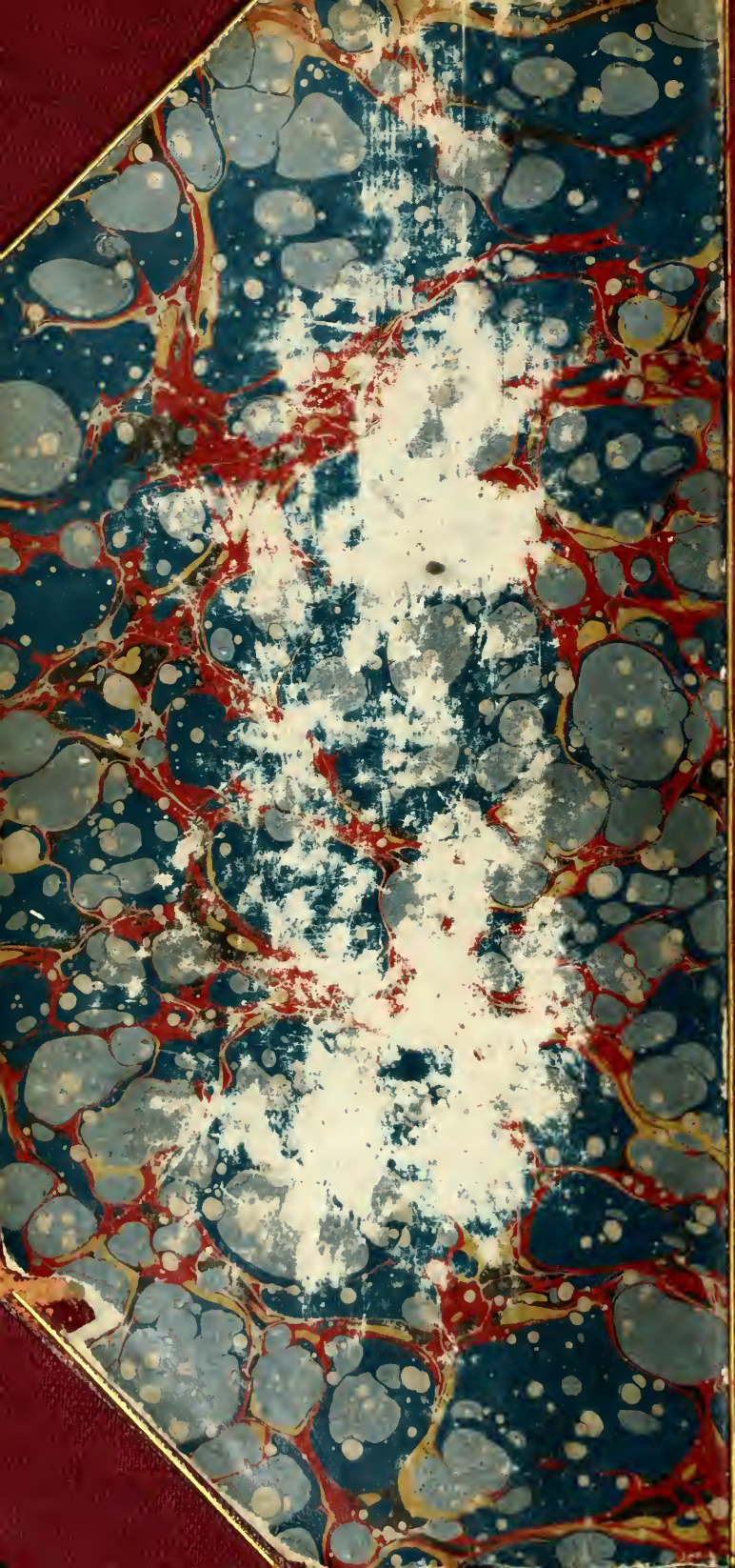
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